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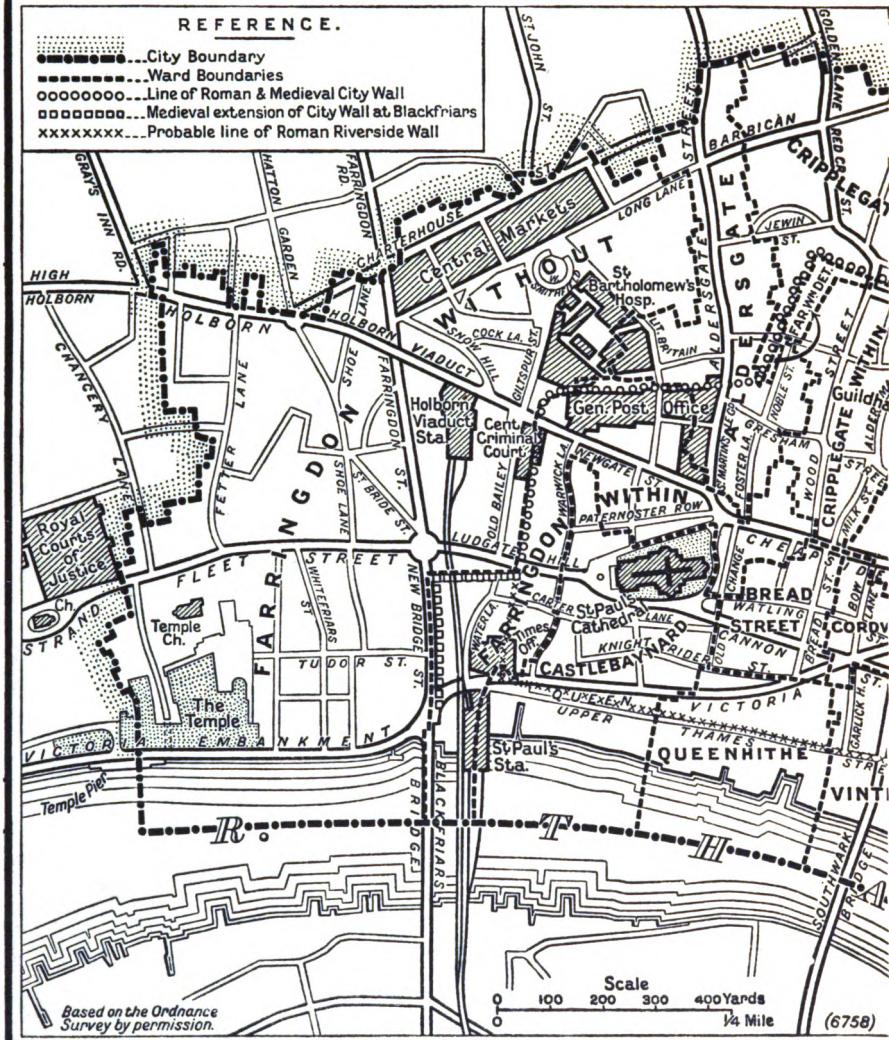
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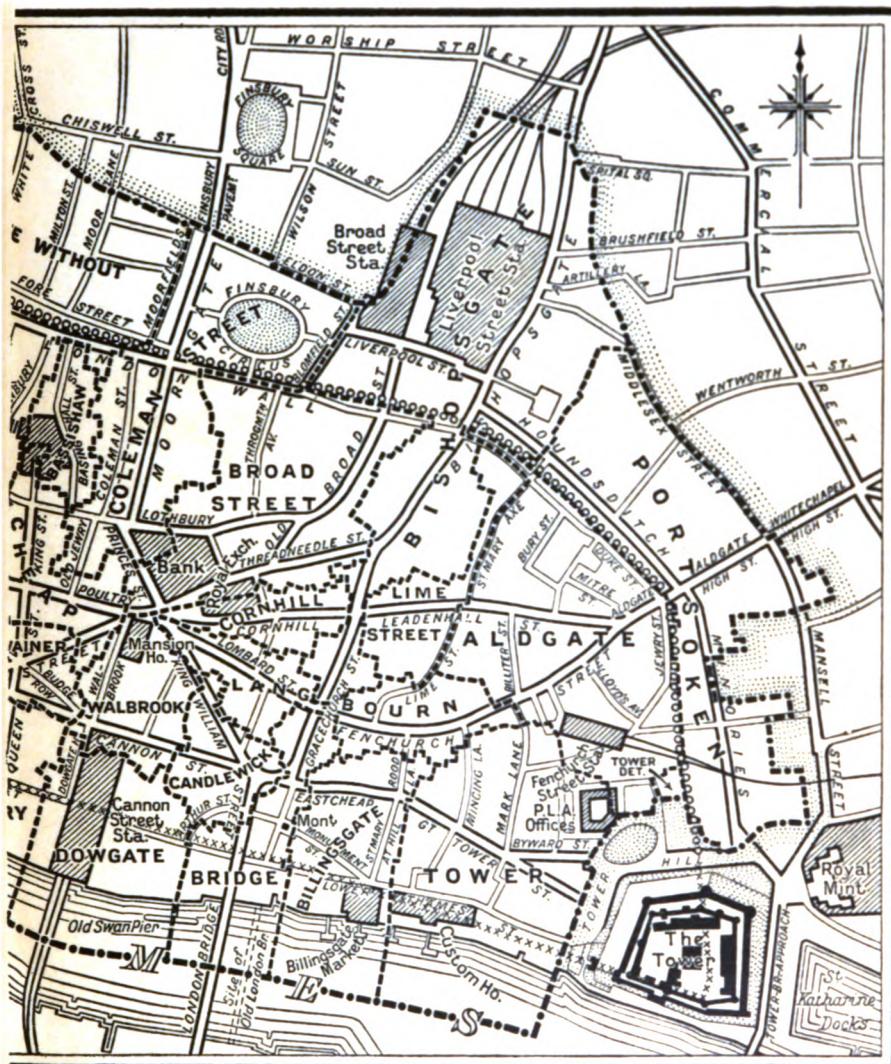


REFERENCE.

- City Boundary
- Ward Boundaries
- ooooooo Line of Roman & Medieval City Wall
- oooooooo Medieval extension of City Wall at Blackfriars
- xxxxxx Probable line of Roman Riverside Wall



MAP OF THE CITY SHOWING THE WARD BOUNDARIES



AND LINE OF ROMAN AND MEDIEVAL CITY WALL

[The Times]

Presented by: The Lord Wakefield of Hythe
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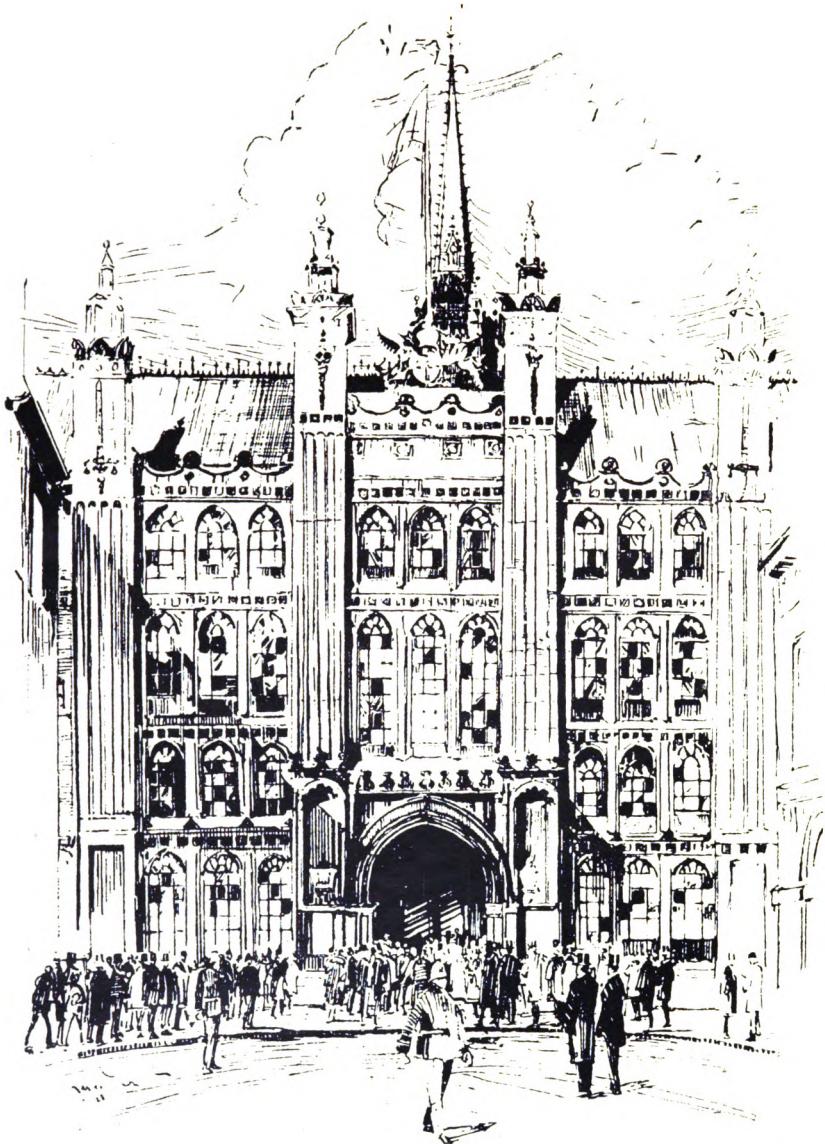
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**LONDON FOR EVER
THE SOVEREIGN CITY**

BY THE SAME AUTHOR

**THE STORY OF THE TEMPLE
LONDON'S LIVERY COMPANIES
SCALPEL, SWORD AND STRETCHER**



[By kind permission of Messrs. Raphael Tuck & Sons, Ltd.
GUILDHALL, THE PORCH

[Frontispiece

LONDON FOR EVER THE SOVEREIGN CITY

ITS ROMANCE; ITS REALITY

BY
COLONEL ROBERT J. BLACKHAM
C.B., C.M.G., C.I.E., D.S.O.

*of the Middle Temple and Gray's Inn
Barrister at Law
Chairman of the Valuation Committee
Corporation of London*

WITH A FOREWORD BY
COLONEL AND ALDERMAN THE RIGHT HONOURABLE
THE LORD WAKEFIELD OF HYTHE
C.B.E., LL.D.,

*President of the Royal Hospitals of Bethlem and Bridewell
Formerly Lord Mayor of London
Hon. Colonel 2nd City of London Regiment
(Royal Fusiliers)*

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FOREWORD

BY

**COLONEL AND ALDERMAN THE RIGHT HON. LORD WAKEFIELD
OF HYTHE, C.B.E., LL.D.**

I HAVE often felt that a book was needed which would provide the ordinary citizen with a sketch of the part which the City of London has played as the chief stronghold of liberty and commerce at a time when the area now known as London was mainly fields with occasional wayside villages. There are many books on London, but there is room for a book, such as this, with its timely emphasis upon the fact that the City of London is, in effect, a State within the State. It preserves a constitution which in form would be familiar to a man of the Middle Ages and yet is the most progressive part of the King's dominions. The London of which Colonel Blackham writes is "solid" history in the same sense as the River Thames is said to be "liquid" history.

I was very glad to learn that Colonel Blackham was working at a book on these lines. I feel it should fill a gap in the literature of London. Colonel Blackham has already made valuable contributions to that literature in his books, *London's Livery Companies* and the *Story of the Temple*, which have been deservedly successful.

In this book he has rendered equal service to lovers of London. He has given us a picture of the heart of our great metropolis, which is, after all, little known to many who live within the borders of the great county which bears its name and is a pleasant dormitory for its citizens. He has

shown us something of its growth from a little Celtic settlement on the Thames to its present grandeur.

"The City" is a closed book to many—if not most—Englishmen and nothing would be easier than to "lose" the average West End clubman within the Square Mile.

Colonel Blackham's pages unfold the glory of the City's past and its present greatness, and with quiet enthusiasm record the great services which the City has rendered and continues to render to Greater London and the whole British people.

The City Fathers, at their own expense, guard the health of the Port of London, and thereby the safety of the kingdom; they provide open spaces for the crowded East End and for once far distant suburbs such as Highgate and Kilburn. They preserve commons in Surrey and maintain four bridges over the Thames.

The Corporation of London is the market authority for an area of seven hundred squares miles and a population of eight millions—the so-called Greater London. The City's markets are the finest in the world, and most of the food of England passes through them.

The City educates young citizens in splendid schools and colleges, encourages literature and the arts, and has even founded a world-renowned academy of music.

Nearly four centuries ago it was the aldermen and citizens of London who first tackled the problem of dealing with the sick, the destitute, the insane, the orphan, the vagrant and the vagabond who had been thrown on the streets by the closure of the monasteries.

Guildhall and the Mansion House are springs of charity for the whole world, and no national disaster in any part of the globe has failed to arouse the practical sympathy of the Lord Mayor, Aldermen and Commonalty of the Sovereign City of London. It is little wonder that such a City State has unique privileges and that its Ruler ranks so high. The Lord Mayor for the time being is second

only to the Sovereign within the Square Mile, and his prerogatives on such an occasion as a Coronation emphasise the dignity of his office and the unquestioned authority of his position in the national counsels.

This book is a picture of London by one who lives and works in the City and plays his part in its government. Colonel Blackham has made not merely the stones, the statues and the shrines, but the everyday work of her men and women tell the story of the living London—the Sovereign City of the Empire.

AUTHOR'S PREFACE

LONDON!

The very name of London conjures up a vista of romance which no other word in the English language can inspire.

To-day the term is used in more than one way, and may mean a county of over a hundred square miles, with a population of nearly four and a half millions, or even an area of seven hundred square miles and a population of eight millions—the Metropolis of London.

The London of which I write is neither of these great places, but a wonderful Square Mile in the centre of them all, which down the ages has maintained a character and influence superior to that of any other community in England or elsewhere.

London's story goes back for twenty centuries, and London City has experienced every sort of vicissitude which can fall to the lot of the creations of man.

More or less on the site of the modern City stood Roman London.

"Full fathom five" it lies buried.

Then came Saxon London, and of it only a few broad facts have come down to us.

But from Norman times there are no breaks in the story of how London and her citizens advanced from strength to strength, until from a small walled City has sprung the greatest metropolis the world has ever known.

Rome on her seven hills may be the Eternal City, but she is merely the Capital of a single kingdom, whilst London is the Sovereign City of a far mightier Empire than Caesar ever dreamed.

It has been said that "London is not a fit subject for a book. A fragment of it might possibly be got within the limits of a library; but even that would be a somewhat hasty glance."

This may be true, but it is worth while attempting to set out the wonders of London in a new way.

History here is subordinated to description and romance to realism.

I gratefully acknowledge my indebtedness to the various authorities mentioned in the bibliography, but I have frequently differed from the views which some of these writers have expressed, as I have been so fortunate as to have the assistance of my friend, Major A. H. Thomas, M.A., F.S.A., Deputy Keeper of the Records at Guildhall. Major Thomas has read over the manuscript of these pages, and given me the benefit of his researches during the past twenty years and his unparalleled knowledge of the City Records.

I thank Major Thomas for his great generosity and invaluable help, but hardly know how to express my gratitude to Lord Wakefield. Were it not for his encouragement this book would never have been written.

I can only express the hope that it is, in some measure, worthy of its great subject, and that it may help to pass on to its readers some of Lord Wakefield's devotion to the great "little area" in which are concentrated the banking, financial and commercial interests of the country, the British Empire, and of the world.

In the words of Lord Plender: "London's leadership has never been challenged. Since the first century of the Christian era it has gone from strength to strength and remained strong, enduring and invincible. It is indeed a Kingdom over which the Lord Mayor rules."

All who are proud to be subjects of this great little state will re-echo the title I have chosen, "London for Ever!"

CONTENTS

CHAPTER		PAGE
I.	THE SOVEREIGN CITY	I
II.	THE GOVERNMENT OF THE CITY	12
III.	THE VICEROY OF THE CITY	22
IV.	THE KING'S DEPUTIES	40
V.	PILLARS OF THE STATE	48
VI.	THE SOUNDING BOARD OF EMPIRE	59
VII.	THE WARDS	78
VIII.	STORIED STREETS	108
IX.	DOMINE DIRIGE NOS	116
X.	STREET MONUMENTS	130
XI.	LIQUID HISTORY	138
XII.	THE CITY'S BRIDGES	148
XIII.	RUNNING CASHES	159
XIV.	THE CITY AND THE SWORD	167
XV.	THE GREAT WAR	176
XVI.	SCHOOLS	191
XVII.	COLLEGES AND CRAFTSMANSHIP	204
XVIII.	THE BIRTHPLACE OF BRITISH MEDICINE	212
XIX.	CHARITY	223
XX.	LAW AND ORDER	232
XXI.	MARKETS	249
XXII.	SAVIOUR OF OPEN SPACES	259
XXIII.	COMMERCE AND COFFEE	270
XXIV.	THE CRADLE OF CHAUCER	281
XXV.	WITS AND WINE	291
XXVI.	SOCIABILITY AND CITIZENSHIP	302
XXVII.	EMPIRE-BUILDING	313
	BIBLIOGRAPHY	325
	INDEX	327

ILLUSTRATIONS

	PAGE	PAGE
MAP OF THE CITY SHOWING THE WARD BOUNDARIES AND LINE OF ROMAN AND MEDIEVAL CITY WALL <i>Inside Cover</i>		
GUILDHALL. THE PORCH	<i>Frontispiece</i>	
A ROMAN BRITON OF THE FOURTH CENTURY STROLLING BY THE THAMES		xvi
VIEW OF LUDGATE HILL TOWARD ST. PAUL'S WITH THE CIVIC PROCESSION ON LORD MAYOR'S DAY, 1837		1
THE MANSION HOUSE IN 1750. From an Old Print.		8
SOUTHWARK FAIR. From an Old Print		9
THE MANSION HOUSE. THE SALON		24
THE MANSION HOUSE. THE EGYPTIAN HALL		25
THE LORD MAYOR'S SCEPTRE, MACE, STATE SWORD AND PEARL SWORD		32
THE LORD MAYOR'S S.S. COLLAR AND BADGE		33
THE SWORD BEARER		40
THE COMMON CRYER AND SERGEANT-AT-ARMS		41
THE LORD MAYOR AND SHERIFFS' COMMITTEE, 1930		48
THE ROYAL EXCHANGE AND BANK OF ENGLAND IN THE 'NINETIES		49
A LORD MAYOR AND HIS LADY, 17TH CENTURY. From an Old Print		64
GUILDHALL. THE GREAT HALL		65
GUILDHALL. THE WHITTINGTON WINDOW. Presented by the Right Hon. The Lord Wakefield of Hythe		72
GUILDHALL. THE ALDERMEN'S COURT ROOM		73
GUILDHALL. THE COUNCIL CHAMBER		80
THE MANY INTERESTS OF THE FARRINGDONWARDS—THE WORLD, THE FLESH AND THE DEVIL		81
BARBER-SURGEONS' HALL, 1861		88
APOTHECARIES' HALL, 1831. From an Old Print		89
THE MODERN CITY. CONCRETE COLUMNS IN LIME STREET		104
A LORD MAYOR AND THE COMMON COUNCILMEN OF HIS WARD, SIR KYNASTON STUDD, BART., AND THE REPRE- SENTATIVES OF FARRINGDON WITHOUT		105

	PAGE	PAGE
THE LOMBARD STREET SIGNS	112	
SUNDAY MORNING ON ST. ANDREW'S HILL; THIS ROAD LEADS FROM CARTER LANE TO QUEEN VICTORIA STREET PASSING THE CHURCH OF ST. ANDREW-BY-THE-WARD- ROBE, REBUILT BY WREN, 1692	113	
THE INVITATION CARD OF THE DEAN AND CHAPTER TO THE THANKSGIVING FOR THE PRESERVATION OF ST. PAUL'S CATHEDRAL, JUNE 25TH, 1930	120	
A WINDY DAY IN ST. PAUL'S CHURCHYARD	121	
STOW'S MONUMENT IN ST. ANDREW UNDERSHAFT	128	
THE GEORGE INN, SOUTHWARK	129	
THE CITY AND THE SEA.	144	
FROM HUDSON'S SHIP TO THE MODERN LINER	145	
London Bridge, 1756, FROM AN OLD VIEW TAKEN SHORTLY BEFORE THE DEMOLITION OF THE HOUSES	152	
(1) OLD SWAN PIER JUST ABOVE LONDON BRIDGE; RECENTLY ABOLISHED	153	
(2) TOWER PIER CONSTRUCTED IN ITS STEAD. THE TOWER OF LONDON IS SEEN IN THE BACKGROUND	153	
THE CITY AND THE GREAT WAR	168	
THE GORDON RIOTS, 1780	169	
A RECRUITING MEETING OUTSIDE THE MANSION HOUSE, 1916	176	
THE RIGHT HON. THE LORD WAKEFIELD OF HYTHE, C.B.E., LL.D., PRESIDENT OF THE ROYAL HOSPITALS OF BRIDE- WELL AND BETHLEM	177	
THE KING EDWARD SCHOOL, WITLEY, FROM THE AIR	192	
A PLAY IN A LONDON INN YARD IN THE TIME OF QUEEN ELIZABETH. From an Old Print	193	
THE COURT ROOM OF THE ROYAL HOSPITALS OF BRIDEWELL AND BETHLEM	200	
THE HONOURABLE ARTILLERY COMPANY: THE CITY ROAD GATE	201	
THE CITY'S HISTORY IN AN INVITATION CARD TO LORD MAYOR'S BANQUET, NOVEMBER 9TH, 1888	208	
THE FRONT OF SIR PAUL PINDAR'S HOUSE IN BISHOPSGATE	209	
THE OLD ROYAL COLLEGE OF PHYSICIANS IN WARWICK SQUARE. THE INNER COURT YARD	216	
THE OLD SURGEONS' HALL IN THE OLD BAILEY	217	
THE ADMISSION OF H.R.H. THE DUKE OF CONNAUGHT AS A GOVERNOR OF THE ROYAL HOSPITALS OF BRIDEWELL AND BETHLEM	224	
THE ROYAL HOSPITAL OF BETHLEM. ENTRANCE TO NEW BUILDING AT MONK'S ORCHARD	225	

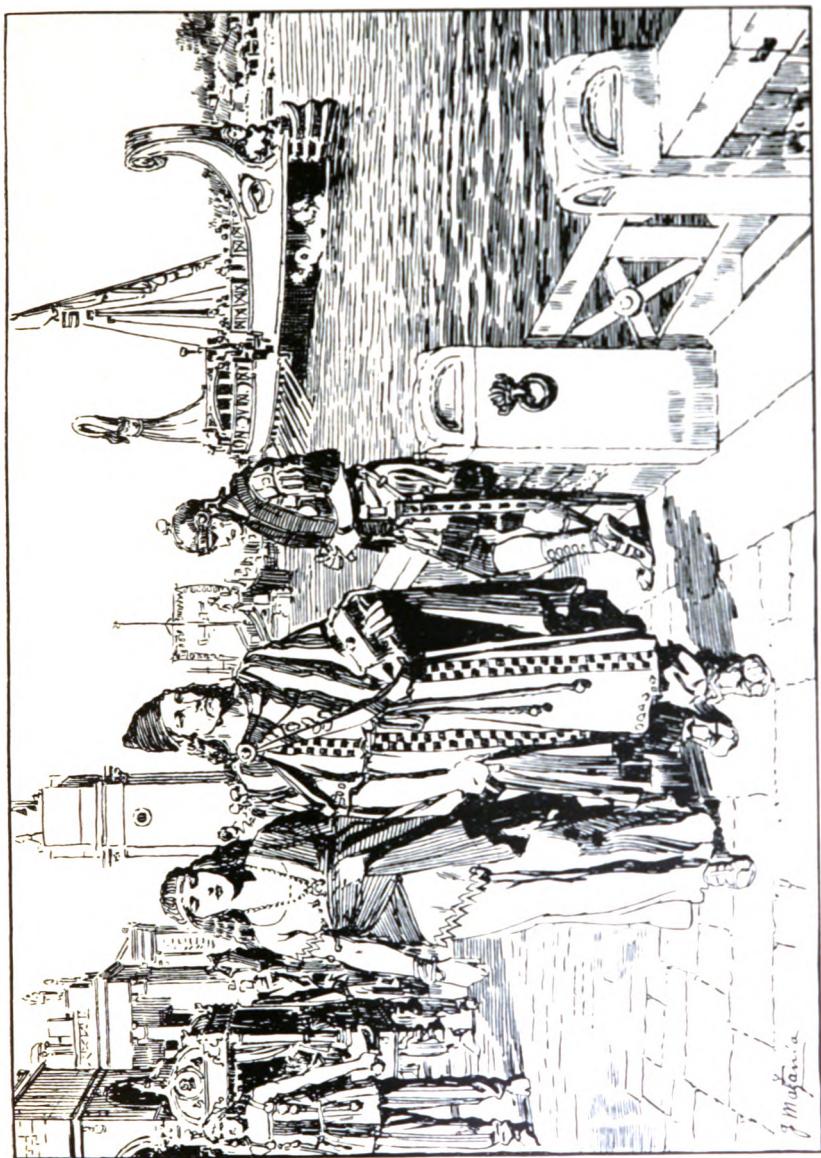
ILLUSTRATIONS

xv

	PAGE	PAGE
THE OLD SESSIONS HOUSE, OLD BAILEY, 1750. From an Old Print	232	
THE NEW SESSIONS HOUSE, OLD BAILEY	233	
THE RECORDER OF LONDON: SIR ERNEST WILD, K.C.	240	
A COURT IN THE OLD SESSIONS HOUSE, OLD BAILEY, SHOWING THE OLD BAILEY SWORD. From an Old Print	241	
OLD SMITHFIELD MARKET. From an Old Print	248	
THE GREAT HALL OF THE NEW OLD BAILEY	249	
THE GREAT PLANE TREE IN THE CHURCHYARD OF ST. PETER, CHEAP, THE CORNER OF WOOD STREET, CHEAP- SIDE	264	
AUTUMN SUNLIGHT IN WARDROBE COURT	265	
(1) THE LUTINE BELL AT LLOYD'S AND TOP PART OF CALLER'S ROSTRUM	272	
(2) LLOYD'S. THE UNDERWRITING ROOM	272	
ON 'CHANGE. From an Old Print	273	
THE DORSET GARDENS THEATRE, SALISBURY COURT, WHITE- FRIARS, WHERE LADY DAVENANT PRESIDED OVER THE COMPANY. From an Old Print	288	
THE YARD OF AN OLD COACHING INN, LAD LANE	289	
A LONDON WATCHMAN. From an Old Print	296	
THE POULTRY COMPTOR	297	
ST. BARTHOLOMEW'S GATE HOUSE	312	
THE ROYAL EXCHANGE	313	
THE "MARIA WOOD." THE LAST OF THE BARGES OF THE CORPORATION OF LONDON	320	
THE CHILD OF ARTHUR PHILLIP. A STREET IN SYDNEY, NEW SOUTH WALES	321	

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A ROMAN BRITON OF THE FOURTH CENTURY STROLLING BY THE THAMES

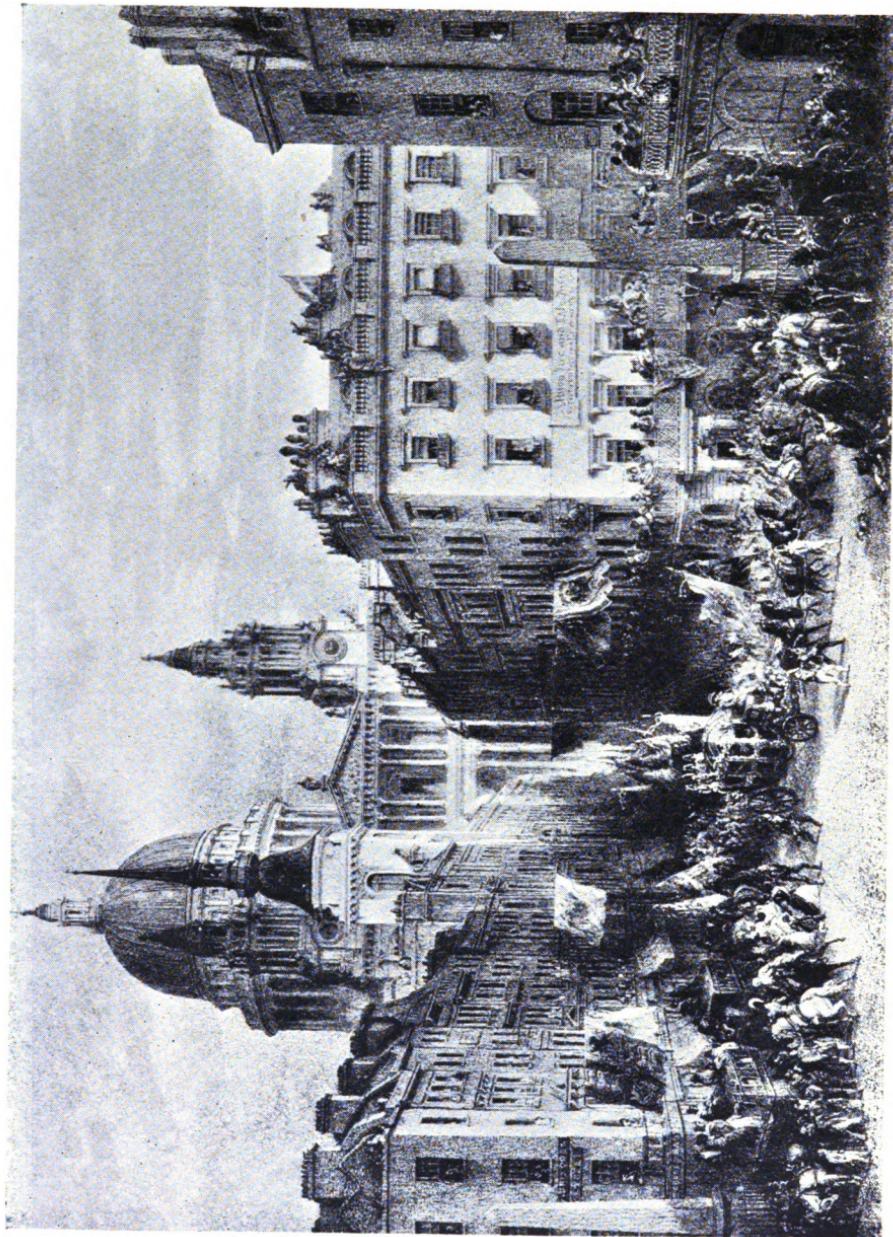


[Face page xvi]

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VIEW OF LUDGATE HILL TOWARDS ST. PAUL'S WITH THE CIVIC PROCESSION ON LORD MAYOR'S DAY, 1837

By David Roberts, R.A.



Face page 1]

LONDON FOR EVER

CHAPTER I

THE SOVEREIGN CITY

“London, thou art the flower of cities all!”

WILLIAM DUNBAR, 1465-1530.

“London has been the real kingmaker of England, and at the present day it cannot be denied that the favour of London is necessary for the existence of a ministry.”

London City, by W. J. LOFTIE.

LONDON, and by this I mean a very small portion of the great area that bears that name, is something more than the premier municipality of the greatest Empire that the world has ever known.

It is a little kingdom in itself, which has dictated its will to kings and potentates; but it is hardly correct to assert, as so many writers on London have done, that it preserves the “right” of requiring the Ruler of the Empire, of which it is the capital, to ask permission before he can enter its boundaries. What usually happens is that the Lord Mayor of the day receives a letter announcing the King’s intention to visit the City, and sometimes His Majesty dispenses with the ceremony at Temple Bar.

It has for centuries possessed the right to have a voice in the election of England’s King, and may well claim to be described as the Sovereign City.

London is so old that its origin is lost in the twilight of history. There are, indeed, beautiful legends which attribute its origin to the gods themselves. According to one old

tale, Diana inspired Aeneas of Troy to cross the sea and found on the banks of a river more mighty than the Tiber a city destined to be far greater than Rome.

Another variation of this story, firmly believed by our ancestors, was that London was built more than a thousand years before the Christian era by "Brute, lineally descended from the demigod Aeneas, the son of Venus, daughter of Jupiter," and named Troy Novant.

George Owen Harry, whose famous *Genealogy of King James from Noah* was published in 1604, gives a circumstantial account of the circumstances under which a classical hero travelled so far afield as the banks of the Thames. He tells us that Brutus, having been so unfortunate as to kill his father in a hunting accident, fled from his native land to Athens, where he married Imogen, the daughter of the King of Greece. Inspired by the gods, he obtained by force from his father-in-law a small fleet in which he sailed for France, where he founded the city of Tours. From France he again crossed the sea and came "to this Isle of Britain," which he found desolate saving a few giants, which in time he vanquished. He built London, calling it "Troy Newydh," and the whole island he named after himself and called Brittaine. After a reign of twenty-four years he died and was buried in London.

Of course this is pure fable, but some historians have striven to show that when the Roman legions reached the Thames they found a colony of traders already established on its banks as some sort of civic community.

Loftie thought that this British village probably occupied part of the site of Roman London, to which it gave its name, and actually placed it on the right or western bank of the Wallbrook near the modern Blackfriars, and to the eastward of it.

Professor Haverfield takes a different view and says, "Either there was no pre-Roman London, or it was an undeveloped settlement, which may have been on the south

bank of the Thames," and Dr. R. E. M. Wheeler rather sums up against the idea of a Celtic London in the following way: "On all grounds it must be admitted that, whilst the possibility of some pre-Claudian occupation of the site of London cannot yet be finally dismissed, there is at present no valid reason for supposing that London existed prior to A.D. 43," when Aulus Plautius founded a Roman Fort and made a beginning of the colony which was to become such a notable outpost of Rome.

We know little of the growth of the City during the next eighteen years, but it is certain that when Queen Boadicea sacked the city in A.D. 61 it was already a Roman stronghold. The British victory over the invaders was short-lived, and there is ample evidence that Roman London rapidly waxed in wealth and power, and was regarded of such supreme importance by the colonists from the Tiber that they gave it "the proud name of Augusta, the highest compliment they could pay to any city."

The Romans held sway in Britain for three and a half centuries, and Mr. J. Matania's picture suggests the high standard of life which was attained under their enlightened rule.

They have left many relics of their occupation, but with the exception of some fragments of the wall which tradition attributed to the Empress Helena—though Dr. R. E. M. Wheeler gives very strong reasons for showing that it was begun and finished, except for certain gates and bastions, almost immediately after Boadicea's rebellion—and, perhaps, London stone, Roman London lies buried "full fathoms five" in the London clay.

Modern building operations within the City and dredging operations in the Thames frequently yield interesting relics of the Roman occupiers of London.

After the departure of the Romans, London seems to have been for a time deserted, as the Anglo-Saxons were a primitive people and unskilled in the art of building which

the Romans brought to such perfection. They were compelled, however, to protect themselves from a new race of invaders, the Danes, and it was doubtless to enable him to withstand these warlike enemies that King Alfred rebuilt some of its buildings, repaired the wall, and restored London to its position as a fortified city.

King Alfred did more than this: he gave the City a form of government, as "he entrusted the town to the keeping of Ethelred ealdorman". Ethelred, who married Alfred's daughter Ethelfreda, was already chief ealdorman of Mercia, and he really became governor of London. The ealdorman of Mercia was a kind of "subregulus", an under-king.

Historical records of Saxon London are scanty, but it is clear that long before the Norman invasion the community which had risen on the ashes of Augusta was for those early days an important centre of commerce. It was governed by a Portreeve and a Bishop, and had a unity and identity of its own which raised it above the status of all mere towns.

It was no part of the King's demesne and subject to no overlord, ecclesiastical or lay.

When, after the Battle of Hastings, Norman William was accepted as King of England, London was already such a Sovereign City that the proud Conqueror did not try to force its allegiance. Instead he decided to treat with the rulers of the City almost as one Sovereign with another. He sent messengers offering concessions and assurances, and won the support of London by promising to respect her sovereign rights. He granted the City a charter containing the historic words:—

"I grant you to be all law-worthy as you were in the days of King Edward. And I will not suffer any person to do you wrong. God keep you."

William, indeed, did not seek to impose the laws of Normandy on England. He introduced many continental

ideas, but he did not interfere with the main body of English legal custom. He specially continued in London the civic law, the old rights peculiar to London. The City must surely have been powerful to secure these terms from such a man as William the Conqueror.

Succeeding Norman Kings followed William's example in recognising the importance of London.

Henry I granted a Charter which, perhaps more than any of these early documents, shows the remarkable position which London had attained in the kingdom.

The Shrievalty of Middlesex and the office of Portreeve of London had been held by the same man on several occasions before the Conquest. Henry I gave this legal sanction by charter and the Sheriffs of London were also Sheriffs of Middlesex right up to the passing of the Local Government Act of 1888. Since that year the two Sheriffs who, as we shall see, the Liverymen of London elect every Midsummer Day are Sheriffs of London only.

It is a curious fact that no Kings of England have ever been crowned within the walls of the City. The Saxon Kings were usually enthroned at Kingston, and since the days of William the Conqueror his successors have been crowned at Westminster. This has led one writer to assert that the City of London has ever been "too independent of the Crown to have coronations within her borders," but this is pure imagination. The question of a coronation in the City has never arisen, but surely the citizens would have been greatly honoured if it had, for have not the old writers loved to call London "The King's City"?

The City was, indeed, always loyal to the Crown when loyalty was possible, but its citizens have never hesitated to oppose the King when they considered that their rights were imperilled.

Under certain of the Plantagenet Kings the weakness of the Crown as a central government gave the City

authorities an opportunity of enforcing old privileges and securing new ones.

The City contributed largely to the ransom paid for the release of Richard the First when he was made prisoner at the end of the Third Crusade, but later in Richard's reign was involved in a serious quarrel with Longchamp, who was acting as Regent during the renewed absence of the Crusader King. The Barons and the City Fathers joined forces, and, under the leadership of John, the King's brother, drove Longchamp out of the Tower and forced him to leave the City.

Their ally, John, was later on destined to be the City's enemy. He attempted to enforce heavy and unfair taxation, but what was far more objectionable to the citizens, made his kingdom subordinate to the Pope, so that when the Barons rose in revolt against him, London flung open her gates to receive them. John had to yield to the Barons backed by the Sovereign City, and a special clause in Magna Carta protects the ancient rights and liberties of the City of London. The Mayor of London was amongst those whose duty it was to see that the terms of the Charter were properly carried out.

The English Justinian, Edward the First, confirmed Magna Carta, and with characteristic wisdom laid down that "the City of London should have all the old liberties and customs which it hath been used to have." His successors were not so wise; Edward II lost his throne owing to his attack on London liberties, and it was mainly his foolish treatment of the citizens by Richard II which led to the downfall of the young King.

During the Wars of the Roses London played an active part, and it was largely through the efforts of the City that Edward IV was able to establish the House of York. London about this period became a City of fine residences and great monastic establishments, with a sprinkling of Livery Halls. So much space was taken up

by such buildings and their extensive gardens that unenfranchised labourers had to live at such places as Stepney and Clerkenwell, and find their way backward and forward to their work.

When Richard III gave promise of firm rulership, four hundred members of the City Livery Companies rode out to greet the King on his accession to the throne. Henry VII was welcomed with equal enthusiasm, as he, too, seemed able to put an end to the unrest which had so long interfered with commercial activities.

Under the Tudors England progressed in a remarkable way, and the City suffered the high-handed policy of the Tudor Sovereigns, as they encouraged Home and Foreign trade and gave people freedom from the perpetual wars of their predecessors.

London accepted the Reformed Faith under Henry the Eighth, and although the religious houses were popular and many of their members belonged to citizen families, the breaking up of the great ecclesiastical establishments in and around the City set free great tracts of land for commercial development. New districts sprang into existence, and a beginning was made to the great expansion of London which has gone on ever since.

The wars in the Low Countries gave London the opportunity of wresting from Antwerp and Bruges their position as trading centres, and the genius of Drake and others made the Flag of St. George supreme on the Seven Seas. In the words of Sir Walter Besant, "The City associated the new prosperity with their maiden Queen, for whom their love and loyalty never abated. When she asked them for a certain number of ships, they sent double the number, fully manned and provided."

Moreover, the guildsmen never forgot that Queen Elizabeth was one of themselves, as her great-grandfather, Sir Geoffrey Boleyn, was Mayor just a century before her accession. The citizens had good reason to cherish his

memory, as he left an enormous sum, equivalent to at least £30,000 in modern currency, to found almshouses.

London tolerated many invasions of her rights under the Tudors, as her citizens were too busy getting rich to bother about much else.

When the Stuarts came to the throne, London was equally anxious to support the new dynasty, and James was met at Stamford Hill by the Lord Mayor and a large deputation from the Livery Companies, anxious to show their loyalty. But the goodwill did not last, as the Stuarts were unable to appreciate the position of London as a Sovereign City and champion of the rights of all Englishmen. The Tudor Sovereigns held the law of the land in high esteem and endeavoured to observe it, but the Stuarts set themselves above the law, and not only confiscated private property and enforced illegal taxes, but inflicted punishments and interfered with the liberty of their subjects in a way which no free people could tolerate. The Tudors encouraged trade, but the Stuarts did everything in their power to cripple it by their monopolies and forced loans or "Benevolences." No City merchant was safe from the exactions of his Sovereign. If he had made money he might at any moment receive a document from the Court addressing him as "Trusty and well-beloved," but demanding a sum of money which might almost beggar him.

At last the people turned in revolt against their oppressors, and in this revolt the City was the boldest exponent of the people's will.

When the Parliament took arms against the Crown, one of its first acts was to send a deputation to the Court of Common Council to win its support for the popular cause. Surely striking evidence of the sovereign position of the City that at such a crucial period in its history the national administration pleaded for the City's support.

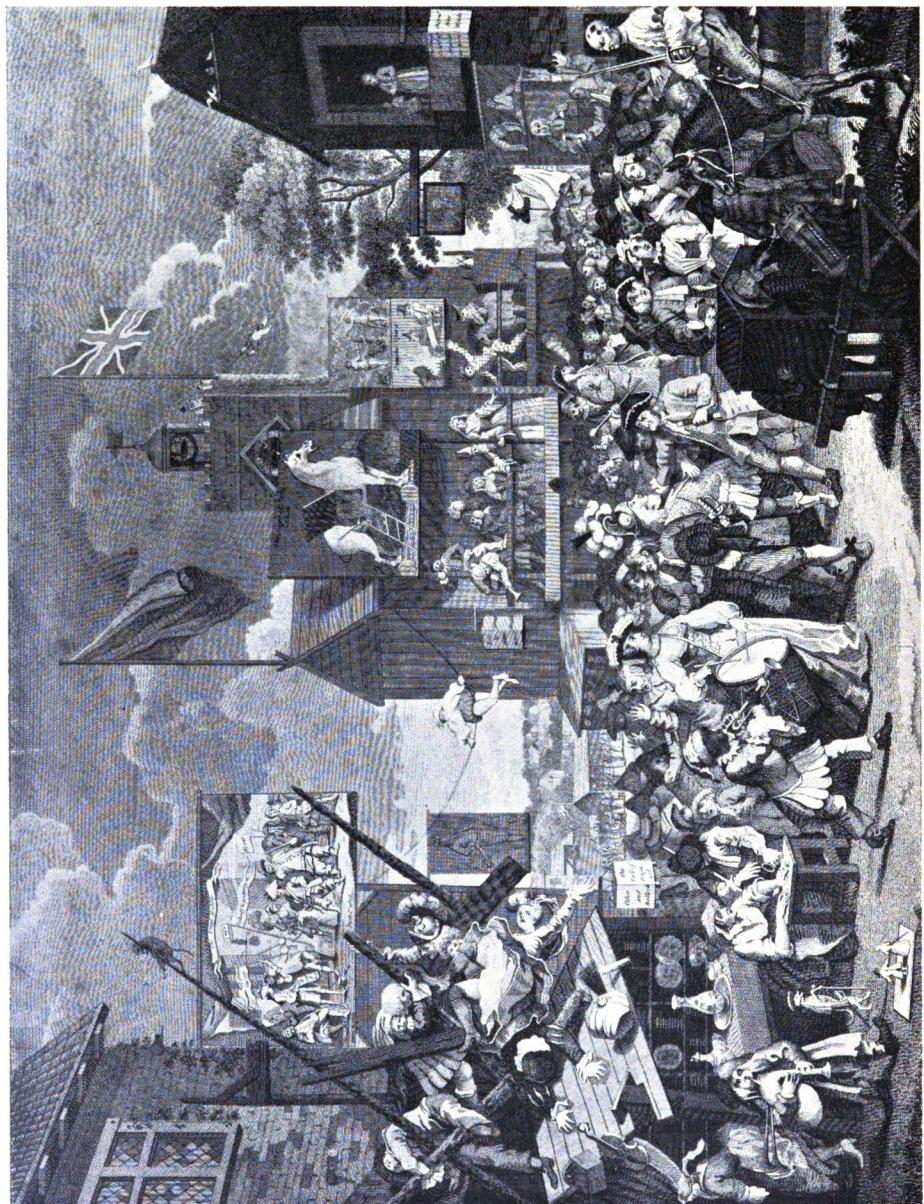
The City, somewhat reluctantly, it seems, sided with Cromwell, and "Charles learned when it was too late what



THE MANSION HOUSE IN 1750
From an old print.

Face page 8

SOUTHWARK FAIR
From an old print.



Face page 9]

a glance at history might have told him long before, that the side of London was eventually the winning side in every struggle, and that in oppressing the citizens of London he had ruined his own cause."

Without going into details, the story of the City in the seventeenth century brings out vividly the unrivalled influence of London over Prince and Parliament. It became abundantly evident that the City was the key to Great Britain.

London stood for Liberty and Moderation, and was the champion of constitutional rights regardless of the nature of the oppressor.

When the King ceased to respect the laws of the land and the interests of his people, the Sovereign City drove him from the throne. When the Commonwealth ceased to represent popular government and tried to rule by force of arms, the secession of the City brought back the exiled Stuarts.

By its action the Sovereign City expressed the national dislike for republican government and England's firm belief in constitutional monarchy as the best form of government for a free people.

Let those who are inclined to regard present troubles as the greatest trials through which this old country has passed turn back to the history of the latter part of the seventeenth century and recall the catastrophes over which London triumphed.

London had scarcely recovered from the strain of civil war when she had to face two terrible disasters. Four years after the Restoration the Great Plague decimated the City, and on its heels came the Great Fire. On September 2nd, 1666, a baker's shop in Pudding Lane caught fire, and from this centre the conflagration spread rapidly. For five days the flames raged, and when at last they died down, there was very little of London left. St. Paul's Cathedral, eighty-nine churches, and most of the Livery Halls, together with thirteen thousand homes, lay in ruins.

Only a few acres had escaped destruction, and a contemporary writer tells us that it was possible to "see from one end of the City almost to the other."

Here was a catastrophe compared with which our modern troubles pale almost into insignificance.

But were our forefathers dismayed? Yes, perhaps; but calamities breed courage, and they set to work to rebuild their city in record time. Almost too quickly, for they did not wait for schemes for town planning which were prepared by Wren, for London's luck usually provides the right man at the right moment, and Christopher Wren was at hand to guide the builders of post-fire London.

Wren's broad wide streets did not materialise, but the City which rose from the ashes of the Fire was a healthier and better London than the plague-stricken City it had succeeded.

Hardly was the City rebuilt than its authorities found themselves once more in conflict with the Crown.

The Merry Monarch and his brother followed the bad example of their father, and attempted to re-establish personal rather than constitutional monarchy. Charles II made a determined attack on the rights of chartered bodies, and his tool, the notorious Jeffreys, boasted that "he made all the charters fall down before him like the walls of Jericho." The charters of the City and the Livery Companies were declared forfeit, James II carried on his brother's work and issued new charters to the Livery Companies, which were intended to "pack" those companies with his own adherents, so it is not surprising that the Sovereign City turned against a dynasty which robbed them of their rights, and that when William III entered London he received a hearty welcome from Corporation and Guilds alike.

One of the first Acts of Parliament under the new Sovereign was the restoration of their old charters to the City and the Companies.

The City was not ungrateful, and from the accession of William and Mary there have been no serious differences between the Court of St. James and the Court of Common Council. Indeed the City has been a bulwark to the reigning monarch, and its vigorous support in 1715 and 1745 played an important part in suppressing the attempts in those years to restore the Stuarts whom the City had learnt to thoroughly distrust.

During the succeeding centuries the links which have bound together the City and the Throne have grown stronger and stronger, till to-day the King himself and each member of the Royal House is bound to the City and her Guilds by the closest bonds of interest and affection.

As will be shown subsequently, no one is more punctilious in according to the City her ancient rights than our present gracious King, and no one would more readily than His Majesty accord to London its proud title of "the Sovereign City".

CHAPTER II

THE GOVERNMENT OF THE CITY

"You cannot possibly have a broader basis for any government than that which includes all the people, with all their rights in their hands, and with an equal power to maintain their rights."

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON.

THE origin of the present form of the government of the City of London, like the origin of the City itself, goes back to a period of remote antiquity.

The term "Corporation" only came into use about the middle of the eighteenth century as a convenient means of describing the various bodies which have been welded together into what may be styled the City's Government.

As mentioned above, just as the founding of London has been attributed to the gods themselves, so the establishment of its civic institutions has been attributed to the earliest civilised colonists of Britain.

The late Sir Laurence Gomme cherished the belief that twentieth-century London comes down to its present possessors with unbroken continuity in customs and government from the city colonised by the Romans.

Other antiquarians have supported this fascinating theory, but alas! it finds no place in the sober statement presented by the Corporation to a Royal Commission so recently as 1921.

In this document it is merely claimed that the government of the City has been from the earliest time analogous to that of the shire. The City had its Folk-mote, which corresponded to the Shire-mote in the counties; it still

has its Ward-motes corresponding to the Hundred motes, and its Court of Husting, which corresponds to the old County Courts.

The City was governed in Saxon times by a Portreve, or Portgerefæ, who corresponded to the Shire-reve of the County.

This officer was, however, believed by those antiquarians who support the theory of Roman origin, to be the descendant of the *comes civitatis*, or Count of the City, appointed by Romans, and these writers regarded the title as derived from the German word *graf*, signifying a Count.

Be this as it may, the title of Portreve disappeared soon after the Norman Conquest, and by 1191 we find that the City had adopted a form of government after a French model known as "their commune," with a Mayor at its head.

The City seems to have evolved its new civic constitution without asking anyone's leave, and that when John and the assembled Barons recognised the change they merely confirmed an existing state of things.

The development of the exalted office of Mayor of London is a long story and requires a chapter to itself. Here I will consider only the two great Courts which share the active administration of the City's work and revenues.

But before doing so, I must refer briefly to the Court of Husting, which is a very ancient institution, dating back to Anglo-Saxon and Danish times. The word "husting" means a Court held in a house or building, in contradistinction to other Courts, held in the open air. A Charter granted by Henry I to the citizens of London directs that the Court shall be held on Monday of every week. In course of time it was held on Monday for purely formal proceedings, the actual business taking place on Tuesday.

"Pleas of Land" came before the Court in early days, but now the business is usually limited to the registration of deeds relating to charitable gifts.

There is little doubt that the Husting was the primitive mother Court which gave birth in succession to the Mayor's Court, the Sheriffs' Courts; the Court of Aldermen, the Court of Common Council, and Common Hall.

The Court is still held at long intervals in Guildhall before the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs, who sit as judges.

The Common Cryer opens the Court with the proclamation: "All manner of persons who have been five times called by virtue of any exigent directed to the Sheriffs of London, and have not surrendered their bodies to the said Sheriffs, this Court doth adjudge the men to be outlawed, and the women to be waived."

Women, it may be explained, were formerly regarded as not within the law, and so incapable of being outlawed. Accordingly, they were ordered to be waived, or disregarded, which, doubtless, in medieval as in modern times, was more easily said than done.

The City Solicitor, acting as the Attorney of the Court, reads out a summary of deeds relating to charitable institutions under the control of the Corporation, and the Recorder announces that it is the pleasure of the Court to sanction the enrolment of all the deeds.

The name "Alderman" is of Anglo-Saxon origin, and there is no reason to doubt that there were aldermen of London before the Norman Conquest. An alderman of Castle Baynard Ward, Tursten, witnessed a deed in 1111, and about 1130 there is a record of twenty Wards in which the church of St. Paul's held lands, of which sixteen are designated by the names of their aldermen. This custom of calling Wards by the names of aldermen continued throughout the thirteenth century.

In the Husting the aldermen were the judges, and they would naturally take the lead when that Court was deliberating on civic affairs. They appear to have been the principal landowners in their Wards, and to have had originally a proprietary right to the Wards. A curious survival of the

latter is seen in the case of Farringdon Ward, which passed by deed of gift and devise from one person to another until, in 1334, Nicholas de Farndone bequeathed the aldermanry to John de Pulteney. It was probably the profits of the Ward which were thus given, for Pulteney never acted as Alderman of this Ward.

The aldermen gradually formed themselves into a Court under the presidency of the Mayor, and ruled the City long before the formation of the Court of Common Council, just as the nation at large was governed by a House of Lords long before the existence of a House of Commons.

The Court of Aldermen is still a very important body, and carries out a great variety of important duties independently of the more popular assembly, the Court of Common Council.

It is impossible to give these duties in detail, but I may mention that the Inner Court, as it is called, at Guildhall controls the City Police, and the Commissioner of that body has to submit for its approval such rules and regulations as he may frame for the administration of the Force or for traffic control in the City.

The Court exercises jurisdiction over the City Companies, and, indeed, even after they have attained the dignity of a Royal Charter these bodies can only become *Livery* Companies by the grant of a Livery from the Court of Aldermen.

The grant of a Livery gives to a prescribed number of the members of the Guild the authority to wear a distinctive dress and to vote in Common Hall at the election of the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs.

This ancient power of the Court of Aldermen has been exercised at frequent intervals during its long history, but it was not from the days of Queen Anne until the other day that the Court granted a Livery to an entirely new City Company—the Worshipful Company of Master Mariners.

This decree of the Court was a revival of its ancient privileges, as for many years past its activities with regard to the City Companies have been chiefly restricted to according increased numbers to Companies already possessing Liveries, and to formal approval of the admission of new liverymen or yeomen of these Companies to the freedom of the City. This formal approval is, however, only required where the new member of a Company is not on the Parliamentary Register of the City.

The Court also appoints the Recorder, subject to the King's approval as regards his judicial functions, and certain other legal officials of the Corporation.

An alderman is elected for each Ward by the citizens in its Parliamentary Register or Ward List. Candidates themselves must be Freemen of the City, but require neither residence nor property qualification in the Square Mile. They need neither be on the Parliamentary nor on the Municipal Register of London, nor need they be members of a Livery Company, but as a matter of practice they always are. The aldermen hold office for life, and besides the rule and government of their Wards and their duties as members of the Court of Aldermen and Common Council, they have to serve as Representatives of the City on the governing body of a vast number of public and philanthropic organisations.

Apart from their purely civic duties, the aldermen perform very important functions, not only as Magistrates but as Commissioners of Assize, as will be indicated in the chapter on Law and Order.

The position of Alderman of the City of London is not one to be lightly undertaken, as it involves heavy demands on both the time and purse of the individual who is so fortunate as to be elected to this honoured post.

So far back as the beginning of the last century it was

enacted that a person who, on being elected, refuses to serve as alderman is liable to a fine of £500 unless he is in a position to satisfy the Court of Aldermen that at the time of his election he was not worth £30,000!

As this sum represented a great deal more a century ago than it does to-day, it is obvious the Corporation in its wisdom saw that the rank of alderman should only be attained by men of substance.

As will be seen, each alderman, who has served the office of Sheriff, is in rotation for election to the office of Lord Mayor, so that the wisdom of this provision is obvious.

The Court of Aldermen possesses the remarkable right of refusing to admit to its ranks, despite his election by the citizens, any individual if they consider him unfit to support the dignity and discharge the duties of the office of alderman. If the electors are stubborn and return the rejected person three times in succession, the Court has the power to admit a fit and proper person independently of the Ward electors.

This right was exercised so recently as 1912, and curiously enough is precisely the right which the City proved, in the case of John Wilkes, that the House of Commons does not possess.

It is for this reason that the Lord Mayor, in declaring the result of a Ward-mote for the election of aldermen, says that So-and-So is elected subject to the approval of the Court of Aldermen.

Together with the Lord Mayor and two hundred and six Councilmen, the aldermen constitute the Court of Common Council, the oldest municipal body in the country. It is older than Parliament itself, as its existence is clearly indicated in 1285, when "good men of all the wards" were sworn to consult with the aldermen on the affairs of the City of London; indeed it has been said that the description of the national legislature was copied from that of the City Council, which is termed "The Mayor, Aldermen

and Commons of the City of London in Common Council assembled."

The Court has varied a good deal in composition and the qualification of its members from time to time during the last seven hundred years. In 1326, and again in the years 1351 and 1352 and from 1371 to 1384, the Guilds had acquired such power and importance that the Court was composed of Freemen nominated by these bodies.

This arrangement lasted up till 1384, when the elections to the Council devolved on the inhabitants of the Wards.

In those distant days each Ward was allotted a number of representatives according to its size, and this system has been continued to the present day.

The Common Council carries out all the functions of an ordinary municipality, but it has unique legislative powers which make it more like the Parliament of a miniature State than a mere civic assembly.

Under a charter from Edward III the Lord Mayor, aldermen and commonalty of the City of London have power to pass "Acts" which regulate the powers and constitution of the Corporation.

By the passing of such Acts, the Common Council has amended and reformed the whole machinery of its municipal government.

The wisdom and moderation shown in the framing of these Acts is evidenced by the fact that they have never met with objections, or interference, from Crown or Parliament.

The qualifications for membership of the Council are now laid down by Statute, but, in addition, the ancient customary qualification remains which entitles any person to be elected a Common Councilman who is a Freeman-householder in the Ward, namely, a person who, being free of the City, is rated for a house "paying scot and bearing lot."

We may here define this curious expression, which occurs

so frequently in ancient documents and in the declaration of new Honorary Freemen of the City.

“Scot and lot” was a contribution on all subjects according to their ability to pay. “Scot” means tribute or tax, and “lot” the portion allotted to the individual. To pay scot is to pay the ordinary tax, and to bear lot is to pay the personal contribution demanded from each Freeman by the State—in short, to share the pecuniary burdens of the City.

The Common Council meets fortnightly at Guildhall, and carries on most of its work through Committees, which deal not only with every aspect of civic administration, but with the special trusts which make the Corporation of London so different from its younger brethren.

At the head of the list of Committees stands the Irish Society, which, to be truly Irish, is not a committee at all! This body is not managed by the Common Council, but its existence is a constant reminder of the sovereign character of the City, as it was called into existence more than three centuries ago to administer the vast estates in Ireland which the City reluctantly took over from that Royal robber, James I, who had appropriated them for a supposed intention of the Irish Earls to rebel. It is an unhappy story on which I need not dwell, but it must be admitted that the establishment of its colony in Ulster, and the part which it played in the other colonising schemes of the Stuarts, alone places the City of London in a category quite apart from that of any other city or municipality in the world.

Most of the City’s “foreign” territory has passed into the hands of others, but certain rights and property remain and are still administered entirely for the benefits of the planters who succeeded the “mere Irish.”

Though modelled on the lines of a Guild, the Irish Society is a very democratic body, as the whole Society is appointed annually by the Court of Common Council.

Apart from the Irish Society, the premier committee is the City Lands Committee, which has charge of the Guildhall itself, the Central Criminal Court, and the other buildings and land owned by the Corporation.

The Chairman of the City Lands Committee for the time being is regarded as the Leader of the Court of Common Council. He is styled Chief Commoner and is the spokesman of the House on all important occasions.

Two Committees stand next in importance, the Bridge House Estates Committee, which will be dealt with later, and the Coal and Corn and Finance Committee.

The curious title of the last-named Committee is derived from the fact that it formerly collected the duties which were levied on coal and corn coming into the City.

The present function of the Committee is to administer the "City's cash," which is the term applied to the great revenues from the estates of the Corporation.

The Committee has charge of the Open Spaces, which will be referred to later, and the Chairman is often referred to as the City's Chancellor of the Exchequer. Following a procedure instituted by Sir Henry McAuliffe, the Chairman presents his Budget to the Court of Common Council annually in a Budget speech.

The Committee carefully considers all applications for grants of money for charitable or other purposes, and keeps a very tight hold on the City's private purse.

It must be remembered that this body has nothing to do with the rates, which are carefully considered by a new body called the Rates Finance Committee.

This new Committee is just as careful with regard to the spending of the rates as its ancient sister "the Coal, Corn" is meticulous in expending the private income of the City.

The remaining Committees of the Corporation will be referred to under appropriate headings, and we may con-

clude this chapter by a brief extract from the Report of the Municipal Corporation Commissioners in 1837:

"The history of the Common Council of London is that of a body which has watched vigilantly over the interests of its constituents, and for a long series of years has studied to improve the Corporate Institutions with great earnestness, unremitting caution, and scrupulous justice."

CHAPTER III

THE VICEROY OF THE CITY

"There is no public officer of any city in Europe that may compare in port and countenance with the Lord Mayor of London during his year of office."

HARRISON.

ALTHOUGH the Lord Mayor on assuming office takes a modest oath that he will "well and lawfully serve the King's Majesty in the office of Mayor," he assumes far greater responsibilities than these simple words imply. He has become not merely the Chief Magistrate of the Sovereign City of the Empire, but a great Public Personage, holding a historic office vested with unique rank and privileges.

He has passed four electoral tests before qualifying as Lord Mayor Elect, but even so he must be personally approved by the King as suitable in every way for his high position.

In other Corporations and Municipalities the Lord Mayor, or Mayor, is chosen by the members of the municipal body of which he is the head, but in the ancient City of London, the Lord Mayor is not elected by the Corporation, and membership of the Court of Common Council is *not* a step on the road to becoming Lord Mayor.

Membership of the Court of Aldermen is, however, essential, and most members of that body do start their municipal career "on the floor of the Court"—that is, as Common Councilmen, but this, though desirable, is by no means necessary.

The aldermen, as we have seen, were originally more or

less lords of the Wards they represented, but from an early date their ranks were recruited only from amongst the merchant princes and prominent traders.

Prior to the Civil War, London was a garden city filled with the stately mansions of great nobles, but the citizens did not permit these interlopers, even when they were royal favourites, to attain the position of Ruler of their little kingdom.

"Never has noble or favourite filled the office of Mayor. Always the choice has fallen on one of the citizens themselves."

This independence of spirit has maintained London in its unique position. The Sovereign City had no need for appointing a nobleman as its head, for the office of Lord Mayor traditionally carries with it the rank of an earl, and gives its holder precedence over all except the King himself within the civic boundaries.

Indeed, within the City boundaries even the Heir to the Throne of England ranks below the King's viceroy of the City.

This fact was upheld by a Scrivener Lord Mayor, Sir Thomas Shaw, in 1805. As the Worshipful Company of Scriveners performed in ancient times many of the functions of the modern Law Society, it was appropriate enough that this point should have been disputed by a member of an ancient legal organization. George IV, when he was Prince of Wales, claimed precedence to the Lord Mayor, but Shaw insisted on his ancient privileges and appealed to the King who decided in his favour, so the point was settled once and for all. Dr. Williamson makes a curious statement with regard to the Lord Mayor's rank as an earl. He says, "the old London records state that should he die in the presence of the Sovereign his position as an Earl is made quite definite, he will be rendered such funeral ceremonies as will be rendered by an Earl and his wife and children must take precedence accordingly. The event has

never taken place, and therefore there has been no opportunity for this old regulation to be carried out."

The doctor adds the curious domestic detail that the Earl's robe, which the Lord Mayor only wears when he is in attendance on the King or receiving other sovereigns, is by ancient custom always provided, and paid for, by the Court of Aldermen, and presented to the Lord Mayor on appointment.

The Lord Mayor's association with the Crown is so close and intimate that, perhaps more than anything else, it brings out the fact that he is regarded more as the reigning prince of a State within the State than as a mere subject. On the death of the Sovereign the Lord Mayor is the first person to be informed by the Home Secretary, and the sad news is accompanied by the request to issue instructions for the tolling of the bell of St. Paul's. Furthermore, the Lord Mayor is the first person who is summoned to attend the Privy Council when the new Sovereign is proclaimed, and he signs the proclamation at the head of the aldermen and City Officers who also attend.

The Lord Mayor is not a Privy Councillor during his year of office, as in the account of the accession of King Edward in 1901 it is stated that after the Lord Mayor had signed the Proclamation he and the aldermen and officers were asked to withdraw and did so, leaving only the Privy Councillors. *The Times* quoted from Greville's Memoirs as to what happened in 1838, and says it is an error that the Lord Mayor has some of the privileges of a Privy Councillor during his year of office.

The rights and privileges of the Lord Mayor at the Coronation of the Kings and Queens of England are, however, beyond dispute and indicate his unique position in the Kingdom. They go back to the most remote antiquity, and are recorded in the earliest histories of our country.

At Coronation banquets the Lord Mayor claims, and has always been accorded, the right of serving the King with



THE MANSION HOUSE, THE SALON

Face page 24



THE MANSION HOUSE THE EGYPTIAN HALL

Face page 25]

wine, and so recently as the Coronation of King George III the Lord Mayor of the day, assisted by four Esquires, exercised this ancient privilege.

Coronation Banquets have not been held for many years, but the Lord Mayor has always been accorded an honoured place at the Coronation of all our Sovereigns. Like the ruler of a suzerain state he bears his Sceptre in the Royal Procession, and during the actual ceremony he stands with the Great Officers of State close to the Throne.

These ancient rights have stood the test of rigid investigations by Courts of Claims and were accorded to the Lord Mayor of the day so recently as the Coronation of our present gracious Sovereign, King George V, and may God grant that the day is far distant when they will have to be put forward once more.

The Ceremonial Books at Guildhall state that the Lord Mayor has the right to approach the King in person and to request an audience of His Majesty through the Lord Chamberlain. He is, moreover, accorded a position in the Coronation Procession, and on the last occasion His Lordship was on the left of Garter King of Arms and immediately in front of the Lord Great Chamberlain.

Another evidence of the remarkably close connection between the Throne and the City is the fact that it is always customary for the Sovereign to pay a formal visit to the City as soon as possible after his, or her, Coronation. This practice was observed by King George V and Queen Mary, and the Royal Visit to the City was not the least imposing part of the stately ceremonial which marked the Coronation of our present Sovereign and his consort in June, 1911.

It will be pointed out hereafter that the office of Lord Mayor carries with it high rank in the Army and Navy, but it is not generally known that the pass-word of the Tower of London is sent quarterly to the Lord Mayor under the Sovereign's Sign Manual, and this privilege has belonged to the City ever since the erection of that stately fortress.

"It has been said that on one occasion the pass-word was sent, signed only by the Secretary of State, inasmuch as Queen Victoria was at the moment at Balmoral, and the official in charge thought it was needless to trouble the Queen, and so forwarded the document without the Royal signature. I am told that the paper was at once returned by the then Lord Mayor to Balmoral Castle, with a humble petition that the right of the City should be maintained. It is said that the Queen was most indignant that the paper had not been submitted to her for her signature, and the official responsible for the error received a somewhat severe reprimand."

As might be expected the election and enthronement of the viceroy of the City is carried out with stately ceremonial. The date of election of Lord Mayor since 1546 has been Michaelmas Day, September 29th.

Election takes place in what is called "Common Hall," which was originally the general Congregation of the Citizens, but has come to be an assembly of the members of the Livery Companies of the City under the presidency of the Lord Mayor who is accompanied by the aldermen, Sheriffs and Great Officers of the Corporation. Common Hall can be assembled not only for the Election of the Lord Mayor and the Sheriffs, but at any time when the Lord Mayor desires the opinion of the citizens in times of trouble or discontent.

It has been described as the third Court of the City, but as it has neither judicial nor legislative powers this description is used in the same sense as the assembly of the Sovereign and his Counsellors is called the Court of the King. This historic convocation is held in the Great Hall of Guildhall.

A platform is erected over the dais, at the east end on which the Lord Mayor, aldermen and the other chief actors in the interesting little civic drama play their parts. This platform is called the Husting.

Year by year the Lord Mayor issues a precept to the various City Companies summoning the Livery to Guildhall to elect a Lord Mayor for the ensuing year. Ever since the days of Whittington the ceremony has been preceded by a religious service which in pre-Reformation times was a Solemn Mass.

Prior to its demolition this service was held in Guildhall Chapel, but for more than a hundred years has been held in St. Lawrence Jewry, which is the nearest of the City churches to Guildhall and has become the scene of all the official religious services of the Corporation. The Lord Mayor and Sheriffs arrive at Guildhall in full state and with the Aldermen and High Officers pass in procession to the church, where, in order to keep up the ancient tradition of the Mass, the Communion Service only is said and a short address given by the Lord Mayor's Chaplain. After the service a procession is again formed and passes first to the Aldermen's Court Room and thence through the Great Hall on to the Husting.

The Lord Mayor, aldermen, and all taking part in the procession carry little nosegays, and the Husting itself is strewn with sweet-smelling herbs—a curious custom originally designed to protect the exalted participants in this old ceremony from "plague and fever."

When the Lord Mayor has taken his seat the Common Cryer proclaims silence, directs all persons to be uncovered, and orders all who are not liverymen to depart on pain of imprisonment.

Common Hall is opened by the ancient formula, "Oyez, Oyez, Oyez! You good men of the Livery of the several Companies of the City, summoned to appear here this day for the election of a fit and able person to be Lord Mayor of this City, for the year ensuing, draw near and give your attendance. God save the King."

The Recorder, having bowed to the Lord Mayor, then goes to the front of the Husting and informs the Livery that

they are gathered together to elect a Lord Mayor, and that in order that their choice may be free and unfettered His Lordship and the aldermen who have served the office of Lord Mayor will retire.

The Lord Mayor and his brother aldermen who have "passed the chair" then retire in procession to the Aldermen's Court Room, preceded by the Marshal and Sword Bearer.

The Mace, with its Bearer, remains in Common Hall.

The Common Serjeant, supported by the two Sheriffs, advances to the front of the Husting and reads to the Livery a list of the aldermen who have served the office of Sheriff, informing them that they are to select two names to submit to the Court of Aldermen who will choose from these two the Lord Mayor for the year ensuing.

The name of each qualified alderman is displayed on boards hoisted on a pole, and as each name is displayed the Sergeant-at-Arms on the instruction of the Common Serjeant says, "So many of you as will have A.B., Esq. Alderman and (the name of his Company) to be Lord Mayor of this City for the year ensuing, hold up your hands."

When the name of the alderman next but one in rotation for the chair is hoisted the Livery call out "Next Year" but when the name of the prospective Lord Mayor appears they usually cry out "All! All!"

At the conclusion of the voting by show of hands a poll may be demanded by any Liveryman; but this has not occurred for many years. Usually the Common Serjeant, as the mouthpiece of the Sheriffs who are the Returning Officers, steps forward and announces the names of the two aldermen selected by the Livery. A procession is then formed by the junior aldermen, Officers and Sheriffs and, preceded by the Sergeant-at-Arms with his Mace on his shoulder, proceeds to the Aldermen's Court Room.

The Common Serjeant, standing between the Sheriffs, reports the names of the two aldermen chosen by the Livery. The Court then proceed to vote. Each alderman, beginning with the junior, declares his vote to the Town Clerk who has the Recorder and Common Serjeant beside him to see that there is no mistake in the scoring. The Lord Mayor's vote is taken last, and the result of the poll is declared by the Recorder. The Lord Mayor Elect is then handed to his place on the left of the Lord Mayor by the Sword Bearer, and after he has received the congratulations of his brethren the procession is reformed and returns to the Great Hall.

The choice of the Court of Aldermen is at once known by the position of the Lord Mayor Elect beside the Lord Mayor, and he is received with enthusiasm by the Livery. On arrival on the Husting the Recorder formally declares the choice of the Court of Aldermen to the Livery, and the Town Clerk calls upon the Lord Mayor Elect to formally assent to take office. The Sword Bearer then invests him with the Chain of Office he wore as Sheriff, and he then returns his thanks to the Livery for his election.

Formal votes of thanks to the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs are then proposed and seconded by notable liverymen, and Common Hall is dissolved by the Common Cryer with another old-world formula, "Oyez, Oyez, Oyez! You good men of the Livery of the several Companies of this City summoned to appear here this day for the election of a Lord Mayor of this City for the year ensuing, may depart hence at this time, and give your attendance here again upon a new summons. God save the King."

After his election the Lord Mayor takes a well-earned rest to prepare him for his strenuous year as Monarch of the City. He does not usually appear in public until about a month later, when he attends at the House of Lords to receive, through the Lord Chancellor, the King's approval of his appointment.

The Lord Mayor Elect is accompanied by the Sheriffs and some of his brother aldermen, and is received in full state in the Prince's Room by the Lord Chancellor who congratulates him on his election and conveys to him His Majesty's gracious approval of the choice of his fellow citizens. The Lord Chancellor then drinks to the new viceroy of the City in a loving cup decked with flowers.

Lord Mayor Treloar tells us that on the occasion when he was received by Lord Loreburn "there were, in fact, two cups; one contained red, the other white, wine, spiced and warmed, and there were also biscuits. I believe the Lord Mayor pays for these delicacies and also gives a fee of £2 10s. od. to the Lord Chancellor's mace-bearer."

That evening the Lord Mayor gives his "Presentation Dinner" at the Hall of one of the Livery Companies, and again retires into private life until November 8th, when he is "sworn in" at Guildhall.

The functions of this eventful day begin with a luncheon at the Mansion House on the joint invitation of the Lord Mayor and Lord Mayor Elect. A feature of this repast has been time out of mind "mutton broth," but for those who do not like this excellent food there are plenty of alternatives.

The ceremony of "swearing in" takes place in the Guildhall, and in accordance with the Promissory Oaths Act the Town Clerk simply reads out a declaration which the new Lord Mayor repeats after him and signs. The outgoing Lord Mayor then surrenders his seat to his successor, and the first act of the "coronation" is the presentation by the Chamberlain of the Sceptre to the Lord Mayor who hands it to his successor. Surely there is a truly regal touch here; the Viceroy abdicates and hands on his sceptre to the new Vicegerent!

The Sceptre is succeeded by the City's Purse and Seal and the Mace and City's Sword, which are in turn handed to the new Lord Mayor, and by him handed back to their custodians.

An important part of the ceremony which passes unnoticed by the audience—but not by the new viceroy of the City—is the presentation by the Comptroller of an agreement by the Corporation to pay to the Lord Mayor £10,000 in lieu of his ancient fees! For be it remembered no Pro-Consul can carry on without the wherewithal to keep up his vice-regal State, and the Governor of the City is no exception.

In former times the Lord Mayor received fees from the various fairs held in the City and other sources just as the King himself replenished his private purse from the rents of the Crown Lands. But the uncertain revenue from the Royal estates has long been consolidated into the Civil List, and similarly the Lord Mayor's fees have been compounded by a fixed annual payment.

In the case of the Lord Mayor the allowance is not nearly sufficient to cover his expenses, and each succeeding Lord Mayor usually spends a large sum from his private purse during his year of office.

His Collar and Badge of Office are curiously enough not handed over to the new Lord Mayor until November 9th. The personal insignia of the Lord Mayor are worthy of the high office he holds. The Collar is of the pattern known as SS, and is a striking link between the Lord Mayor and the Royal House, as this kind of ornament originated in the Plantagenet days as part of the "Livery of our Lord the King." The significance of the letters SS has been hotly disputed. Camden states they refer to St. Simplicius, a sanctified lawyer and Senator of Rome, and this is a pleasing origin for Lord Mayors to reflect upon if they favour the theory that the civic constitution of London has been handed down to us from Roman days; but alas! there are half a dozen other explanations—or rather guesses—as to the meaning of the letters.

The Collar was bequeathed to the City by Sir John Aleyn, who was twice Lord Mayor of London, but the

civic records do not state how he became entitled to wear this high mark of Royal Favour.

His successors have, however, worn it for nearly four hundred years, and no other chain of office in the world can compare with it for beauty and antiquity. It is nearly 5½ feet long, and consists of twenty-eight letters S, fourteen Tudor roses, thirteen knots and a portcullis. It weighs nearly three pounds, so that it must be a constant reminder of its presence to a slim wearer.

The Badge worn suspended from this truly regal Collar did not form part of the original bequest.

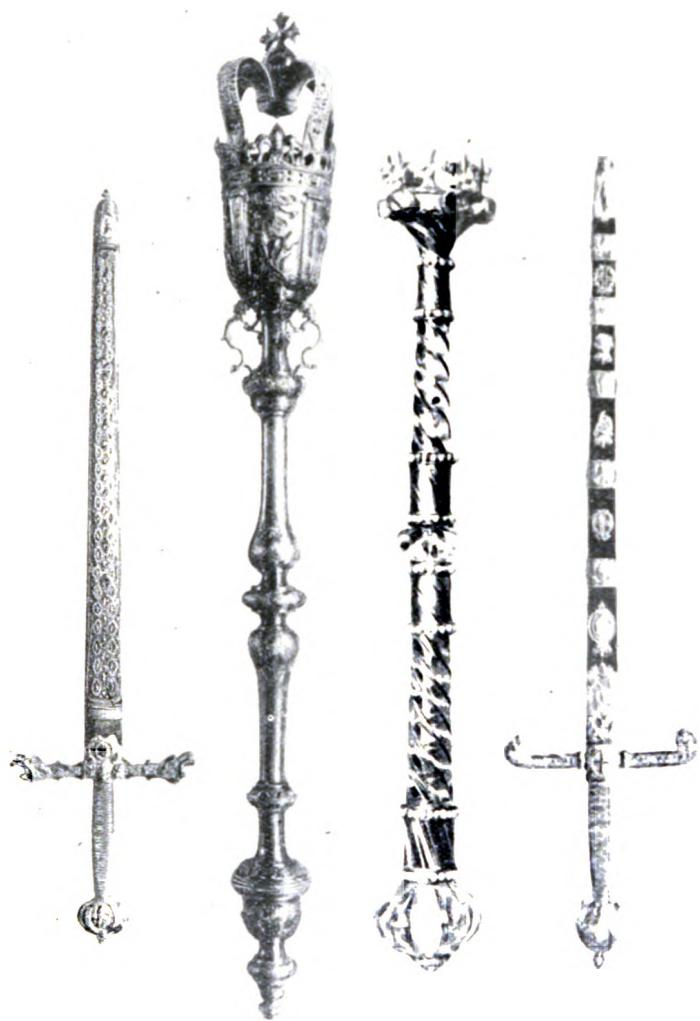
Sir Martin Bowes, the first Lord Mayor of London, added a pendant in 1558, but apparently it was not regarded as sufficiently imposing, and the City purchased the present Diamond Badge in 1607.

Bowes' gold cross or jewel, which was set with pearls and precious stones, was not sold, but it disappeared and nothing is known of its history since its disuse.

The existing Badge is an exquisite onyx cameo carved with the City's arms and encircled by a garter of dark blue enamel, with the motto "Domine dirige nos" picked out in diamonds. The garter is encircled by a beautiful wreath of roses, intertwined with shamrocks and thistles, composed of brilliants and rose diamonds and set in silver. The wreath outside the garter is a Victorian addition, as it only dates from 1880 when the ornament was reset.

The Diamond Badge is worn without the Collar suspended from a dark blue ribbon on occasions of semi-state. It may be convenient to here briefly refer to the other insignia which are the symbols of the exalted rank of the Ruler of the City. They consist of the Sceptre, Swords and Mace.

The Sceptre is an object of unique interest. It is only a foot and a half long, and its intrinsic value is not great as the shaft and knobs consist of crystal or glass, and only the head is composed of gold and jewelled. Part



THE LORD MAYOR'S SCEPTRE, MACE, STATE SWORD AND PEARL SWORD

[*Face page 32*



THE LORD MAYOR'S S.S. COLLAR AND BADGE

Face page 33]

at least of this remarkable emblem goes back to Saxon times, and even the head is fifteenth century, so that the Sceptre enshrines the historic continuity of the City perhaps more than any other of its emblems of State.

The public are familiar with the Sword carried before the Lord Mayor on State occasions, but this is only one of four which are the emblems of his authority at various times. The great weapon with which London is familiar is the "Sword of State," first used in 1680 and carried point downwards in the presence of the Sovereign or any of His Majesty's Judges, but erect on all other occasions. In addition there is the Pearl Sword, so called because the scabbard is encrusted with pearls. It is said to have been presented by Queen Elizabeth when she opened the Royal Exchange in 1571. This is the weapon carried by the Lord Mayor himself in the presence of the Sovereign, and handed to his Majesty at the ceremony at Temple Bar when the King visits the City. In addition there is the Black Sword, used instead of the Sword of State on fast days in Lent and when the Court is in mourning for a member of the Royal Family; and the old Bailey Sword placed above the Lord Mayor's chair as the symbol that he is the Chief Commissioner of Assize in the Central Criminal Court.

The Mace is a very old emblem of authority, and there is evidence in the thirteenth century that there were City Sergeants who, like the Beadles of the City Companies, carried ensigns of state before the Mayor. This privilege was confirmed by charter in 1354, and ever since a Mace has been carried before the City's viceroy.

These insignia of authority seem to have been very badly looked after in olden days, as in 1559 the Mace of the period was stolen from the house of Lord Keeper Coventry. The Mace is the only part of the Lord Mayor's regalia which was affected by the Civil War. The Parliament, notwithstanding Cromwell's contempt for the Speaker's

Mace, took an interest in these "baubles," and ordered that all such emblems in the kingdom should be of one pattern, so the City had to get rid of its Royal Mace and buy a new one of the Parliamentary pattern.

Here again there is no record of what became of the Elizabethan Mace, so they were really careless about maces and badges in the seventeenth century.

At the Restoration a new Mace was presented to the City appropriately enough by Sir Thomas Vyner, a famous goldsmith, who had been Lord Mayor during the Commonwealth.

Vyner's Mace must have been rather a flimsy affair, as it was found past repair in 1735 and replaced by the present magnificent emblem which weighs nearly twenty pounds and is over five feet in length. It is a right regal ensign of authority, as it bears crowned badges on three of its sides, with the City's arms on the fourth, and on the flat top of the head the arms of George the Second who was the reigning Sovereign when it was taken into use. The head is surrounded by a circlet of fleur-de-lis and crosses from which spring the arches of the crown surmounted in true regal fashion by an orb and cross.

The City's Sword and Mace are much in evidence on what is styled in old documents the Day of the Lord Mayor's Solemnity.

The late Sir William Treloar is one of two Lord Mayors who kept a diary of this great day. He says, "At about 11 o'clock I appeared at Guildhall, where a 'light breakfast' was ready for the aldermen, Sheriffs, the officers, and others who were doomed to be in the show. A light breakfast it may be called, but I think a 'heavy luncheon' would be the correct name for it. The procession made a start shortly after 11, and I, who came last, reached the Law Courts about 2 o'clock." At the Law Courts the Lord Mayor is presented to His Majesty's Judges in a graceful speech by the Recorder, and signs a declara-

tion that he will faithfully perform the duties of his office. The Recorder then reads a warrant from the Corporation appointing their attorney to sue, prosecute, defend, and lay claim to all their liberties in the King's Bench Division. The declaration and this document are handed to the King's Remembrancer, and the Recorder prays that the warrant be recorded, to which the Lord Chief Justice assents.

On behalf of the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs the Recorder invites His Majesty's Judges to a banquet at Guildhall that evening, and the Lord Chief Justice replies somewhat curtly that "Some of His Majesty's Judges will attend." The ceremony of presentation is repeated in the Chancery Division before the Master of the Rolls, and then the Lord Mayor continues his triumphant progress back to Guildhall which he reaches about four o'clock. He has to be on duty again by six o'clock to receive the guests who have been honoured with invitations to the most famous feast in the world—the Guildhall Banquet.

The Reception takes place in the beautiful setting of the Guildhall Library, and is carried out with the most stately ceremonial. Royal Trumpeters precede the principal guests, and the brilliant robes and uniforms of the men and lovely dresses of the women provide a spectacle unexcelled in any Royal Court.

The whole of the expenses of Lord Mayor's Day including the Banquet is borne by the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs, who delegate all the arrangements for both the Show and the Banquet to what is called The Lord Mayor and Sheriffs' Committee, which consists of twelve or sixteen members. Half the members are appointed by the Lord Mayor and the other half equally divided between the two Sheriffs.

The Committee is accorded a place in the Lord Mayor's Procession, and its members act as stewards at the Guildhall Banquet. It is guided in its labours by the City

Remembrancer, who is not only one of the Law Officers but the Director of Ceremonies to the Corporation.

The whole of the Celebrations of Lord Mayor's Day are more national than civic, and the occasion is regarded more as the rejoicing on the coronation of a sovereign than the installation of a great subject in a historic office. Always a note of Empire is struck, and on the occasion on which I was a member of the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs' Committee the achievements of the British Commonwealth of Nations were the dominant theme.

It has been well said that the Guildhall, during the hours of the banquet, is a focus of interest to every part of the Empire, as well as to foreign Governments, who know that Ministerial pronouncements of the first significance are delivered there.

Prior to almost the middle of the eighteenth century the Lord Mayor had no official residence. He entertained his guests in one of the Livery Halls—a practice which was revived in 1931 during the recent reconstruction of the Mansion House. In 1734 the Court of Common Council resolved to build a suitable palace for the King's viceroy in the City.

The site selected was the old Stocks Market, and the foundation stone was laid by Lord Mayor Perry on October 25th, 1739.

George Dance was the architect selected for the building, which cost about £71,000. The original building was largely improved in 1866, but completely reconstructed in 1931. It is now a palace worthy of the Great Personage it houses. The reception rooms are very fine, and the dining hall, known as the Egyptian Hall, is a noble apartment. There is nothing Egyptian about its architecture, but the Hall is said to have got its name from the fact that an Egyptian potentate was the first great personage entertained in it. The lofty roof is supported by twenty Corinthian columns, and the space between the columns

is adorned by marble statues, including two of Foley's best figures, Caractacus and Egeria.

It is in the Egyptian Hall that the famous Mansion House banquets are given. The display of gold and silver plate on these occasions is even more impressive than the repast, and right up till the end of the last century behind the Lord Mayor stood the "Common Hunt," an officer in sporting costume with a jockey cap.

The official was a reminder of the spacious days when the Lord Mayor kept his own pack of hounds, and he and his fellow-citizens exercised the privileges granted them by Henry the First of hunting in Middlesex and Surrey and as far away as the Chiltern Hills.

The Mansion House is probably the only house in the kingdom used as a residence, as a Court of Justice, and as a prison. It is looked at from different points of view by different people. There is a story of a man and woman passing it on a bus. She was heard to say, "What place is that, Bill?" He replied, "That is the Mansion House, where I got my fourteen days."

The officers of the Household of the Lord Mayor were at one time numerous, but there are now only four. The senior is the Sword Bearer, who holds an ancient and honourable office. He is described in the *Liber Albus*, one of the oldest of the City archives, as "an Esquire well bred to carry the Lord Mayor's Sword before him." The Sword Bearer must have always been highly esteemed, as he wears a gown of black brocaded silk of the same material as the Lord Mayor's own robe, but his glory is a curious busby made of sable fur. This cap is regarded as a military headdress, and is worn, like the soldier's helmet, even in the presence of the Sovereign.

The Mace Bearer has already been referred to; his full title is "Common Cryer and Sergeant-at-Arms." He is a conspicuous figure at Common Hall, and it is his duty to read Royal Proclamations on the steps of the Royal

Exchange. He is the last survival of several "Sergeants" of the Mayoral Household.

The City Marshal recalls the ancient police system of the City. There were at one time two Marshals who supervised the watch and ward of the City, and aided by their Marshalmen endeavoured to rid the streets of rogues and vagabonds, and remove the sick to hospital. The formation of the City Police Force left the Marshals with only ceremonial duties to perform. One of them was abolished, but one remains as the Marshal of all Mayoral ceremonial. He rides before the Lord Mayor in the streets and leads all processions indoors. In addition to his ceremonial duties the Marshal assists the really most hard-worked officer of the Household—the Private Secretary.

This responsible and exacting post was held for more than half a century by Sir William Soulsby, who was the greatest authority on procedure and precedence in the Kingdom.

Sir William joined the Lord Mayor's Household as a young barrister, and proved the guide, philosopher, and friend of more than fifty occupants of the Mansion House. I have used the word "occupants" advisedly, as Sir William was as much the adviser of the Lady Mayoress and her family as of the Lord Mayor himself. He received many marks of appreciation from the three Sovereigns under whom he was privileged to serve, and retired, universally regretted, in 1931. On one occasion I had a very difficult "high table" to arrange for my Livery Company, so I took the plan to Sir William who decided the difficult questions of precedence. As I had anticipated, there was some comment as to the seating of the great personages, and my reply to the critics was that the table had been arranged by Soulsby. This at once silenced all comment.

Sir William has been succeeded by Mr. Thomas Harvey Hull, one of the most popular officers at Guildhall, who bids fair to increase even his high reputation in his new office.

Such, very briefly, is the position and entourage of the Lord Mayor. It is a story more fitting for a book than a chapter, but enough has been said to support my claim that the holder of this high office holds a unique position not merely in England but in the Empire.

The Lord Mayor typifies the Dignity and Supremacy of the Citizens of a Free Nation, and under six dynasties has maintained the Majesty of Commerce in his little kingdom "The Sovereign City."

CHAPTER IV

THE KING'S DEPUTIES

The whole history of English justice might be brought under this rubric, the decline and fall of the Sheriff.

Justice and Police, by MAITLAND.

If Execution be the Life of the Law (as without doubt it is) it seems to be seated in the Sheriff.

The Compleat Sheriff, 1696.

THE office of Sheriff is more ancient than that of Mayor, as we have seen that there was a Portreve in London, corresponding to the Shire-reve of a county, long prior to the Norman Conquest.

The Sheriffs, or as they are usually called, High Sheriffs of Counties, were originally appointed by the people, but the appointment at an early date vested in the Crown except where some powerful landholders managed to make the appointment hereditary—for instance, in Westmorland, where the tenure of the office by one family was not terminated till 1850. Acting as Sheriff has always been an expensive job, and at one time the liabilities of the Sheriff's office in the counties were contributed to by his fellow gentry, and there was actually a form of land tenure called "Sheriff-tooth" which depended on the provision of entertainment to the Sheriff at the County Court. Up to the last century "riding with the Sheriff" was common at assizes, the riders being leading men in the county who brought with them wine and food to assist the Sheriff in entertaining the Commissioners of Assize. These "ridings" must not be confused with the "Sheriff's Ride" at Lich-



THE SWORD BEARER

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Face page 49



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THE COMMON CRYER AND SERGEANT-AT-ARMS

Face page 41]

field, carried out in virtue of a charter of Charles the Second, dated November 5th, 1664, which ordains that the "Bailiff and Brethren of Lichfield" shall annually on the feast of St. James, July 25th, elect "one of the citizens and inhabitants of the city (not being already one of the Brethren), to serve the office of the Sheriff of the City and county of Lichfield." If the citizen elected refuses to serve, the Brethren have power, at their discretion, to fine him, to commit him to prison till the fine is paid, or to exclude him from all the privileges of the city. If, however, he accepts election, he is bound, under pain of "fine and amerciaments at the direction of that body," to "perambulate the boundaries of the place." This custom has been kept up since 1664, and is still observed with full accompanying ceremonial.

The Sheriff was originally the King's Deputy. He protected the interests of the Crown against the powerful local Barons, presided in the County Court and Hundred Court, collected the King's taxes, and was in charge of the military and police organisation of the shire. The City at a very early date secured the election of Sheriffs for itself, and true to its sovereign character, did so by arranging for a fixed annual tribute in lieu of varying dues. The charter of Henry I, issued about 1132, gave the City the right of appointing Sheriffs not only for the City, but for the County of Middlesex, in return for an annual payment of £300, and left the appointment entirely in the hands of the citizens themselves.

The nomination of Sheriffs for all the English Counties, except Cornwall and Lancaster, is made annually by the Lord Chancellor, sitting with the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the Lord President and other members of the Privy Council, and the Lord Chief Justice, or two other High Court Judges, at the Royal Courts of Justice. This is one of the few occasions on which the Chancellor of the Exchequer wears his gorgeous black and gold robes.

The King's Remembrancer reads out a list of nominees,

and, after excuses to serve have been considered, three names for each county are submitted to the King in Council, who "pricks" with a silver bodkin usually opposite the first name on the list. This ceremony, known as "pricking the sheriffs," is followed by the issue of a Warrant of Appointment by the Clerk of the Privy Council. The procedure goes back to the days when there were few persons, other than clerks in holy orders, who were able to write, and even royal princes signed their names by making a mark or hole in a piece of parchment.

The custom by which the King "pricks" often unwilling Sheriffs of counties has no counterpart in the City, where there is never any lack of aspirants for the office, notwithstanding the financial burden, which sometimes amounts to £6,000 or £7,000. Even more than the election of Lord Mayor, the appointment of Sheriff of London is absolutely in the hands of the seventy-eight Livery Companies. Candidates for the office have to secure the suffrages of a body scattered all over the country, and the difficulties of getting known to their brethren in the Livery are very real, and involve a campaign which often lasts for years.

The City Shrievalty is really vested in the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Commonalty, who are answerable to the Crown for the proper performance of the duties of Sheriff in the "bailiwick" of London. These duties are numerous and incessant, as the Sheriffs have to attend on the Judges at the Central Criminal Court, serve and execute process, prepare panels of juries, levy execution, act as returning officers at parliamentary elections and "keep the King's peace."

The right to nominate Sheriffs does not rest in the City, as in other towns, with the Municipality. It was long claimed to be the privilege of the Lord Mayor to nominate, and elect, one of the Sheriffs, the nomination taking the form of drinking to him on a public occasion. But the Lord Mayor's rights were challenged on different occasions

in the seventeenth century, and finally, by two Acts of Common Council of 1694 and 1703, his right was restricted to that of nomination only. In 1878 an Act of Common Council confirmed with certain modifications what had been the procedure for nearly two centuries.

Between the 14th day of March and the 14th day of May in every year the Lord Mayor, in the Court of Aldermen, nominates one to three Freemen of the City for the Shrievalty, and this nomination remains in force for five years. In addition to the Lord Mayor's nominees every Alderman who has not served the office of Sheriff is, *ipso facto*, in nomination for the office in priority to any other person, but any two Liverymen can still nominate any Freeman of the City in Common Hall.

A curious perquisite was formerly accorded to the Sheriffs to commemorate the services personally rendered by their Sheriff predecessors in endeavouring to extinguish the Great Fire of London. The Corporation of the City used to present to each Sheriff twelve leather fire buckets emblazoned with the City arms. This practice was carried out from the time of the Great Fire, certainly down to 1883, and there is some evidence that it was continued even later than that date.

For a long time certain ancient payments were made to the Sheriffs by the City. In 1883 these dues were commuted for a fixed annual sum of about £815; but their origin is interesting for the side-light it throws on the sources of revenue of Sheriffs in former times. The sum of £5 6s. 8d. was paid in lieu of a toll originally collected from German merchants in London for certain articles including wax candles, herrings and sturgeons; £50 was for the benefit of poor prisoners in the City, to be given to them on the eves of Christmas and of Easter; £58 represented a toll and an allowance in respect of London Bridge; £260 was paid for the toll of Smithfield Market; £60 for a toll of Bishopsgate and Aldgate, and £9 for the fire buckets just

mentioned. There was a curious allowance of £150 for "scavage" which had nothing to do with scavenging in the modern sense as some writers have thought. Scavage meant "showage", the showing or searching of merchandise on the quays when dues were taken. There was also a fee farm rent to Bromley College which was redeemed in 1929. In the 'eighties, from these various ancient payments each of the Sheriffs received £407 7s. 10d., but now the two of them receive an allowance of £740. Out of this sum they discharge a Fee Farm Rent of £40, which is payable by the Corporation, and make their own arrangements with gentlemen to act as their Under-Sheriffs.

It is an especial privilege of the Sheriffs to wait upon the Sovereign, by direction of the Corporation, to ascertain the Royal will and pleasure as to the reception of Addresses. The City's right of presenting, at the Bar of the House, Petitions to the House of Commons on behalf of the Corporation is also discharged by the Sheriffs. One Sheriff is always in attendance throughout each Session of the Central Criminal Court. As the King's Deputies, they are closely associated with the viceroy of the City in the discharge of most of his official duties. In the absence of the Lord Mayor they take charge of, and conduct, the business in "Common Hall," and, as we have seen, they are privileged to attend each meeting of the Court of Aldermen and Court of Common Council, whether they are already members of these bodies or not.

A Sheriff wears a Chain of Office and Badge, which of late years has usually been presented to him by his brother liverymen, personal friends and the inhabitants of the Ward or district with which he is associated.

Every Sheriff must, within one month of the notification of his appointment in the *London Gazette*, appoint in writing a fit person to be his Under-Sheriff. Lord Halsbury says, "no particular qualification is necessary. A solicitor of standing is usually appointed."

In the days when the Sheriffs held their own Courts, their judges were, as we shall see, known as Under-Sheriffs. Nowadays, this title is also given to the gentlemen who act as staff officers to the Sheriffs and are required to accompany them at the Sessions of the Old Bailey and other occasions.

In case of murders within their jurisdiction it is the Under-Sheriffs, and not the Sheriffs, who have to be present at the execution.

Arising out of the Court duties of the Sheriffs is the ancient privilege of entertaining the Judges, Treasury Counsel and eminent members of the Bar to luncheon daily at the Old Bailey. This may be an expensive privilege, but it is one that the Sheriffs of London would be very loth to forgo.

The election of Sheriffs takes place in Common Hall on June 24th of each year. The election is curiously combined with that of the Chamberlain of the City, Bridge-masters, Aleconners and Auditors.

The Lord Mayor attends in full state, and the same ceremonial is observed as in the election of Lord Mayor, which has been already described.

Common Hall having been opened by the Common Cryer, the Recorder acquaints the assembly with the nature of the election, and in order to leave free choice in the hands of the Livery, the Lord Mayor, aldermen who have "passed the Chair," and Recorder retire not to the Aldermen's Court Room but to the Common Council Chamber, where, according to an ancient custom, the Sword is placed on a mass of roses.

"This procedure recalls the old classical legend, when Cupid gave to Harpocrates, the God of Silence, a rose, to bribe him not to betray the amours of Venus. The flower has therefore been taken as the emblem of silence. The phrase '*sub rosa*' or 'under the rose' still means that a statement is made in strict confidence, and roses have frequently been sculptured on the ceilings of banquet rooms, to remind the

guests, as has been well said, that what was spoken '*sub vino*' was not to be uttered '*sub divo*'."

The Sheriffs, with the Common Serjeant between them, then advance to the front of the Husting, when the Common Serjeant reads to the Livery a list of the persons to be put in nomination for Sheriffs, Chamberlain, Bridge-masters, Aleconners, and Auditors; and the Sheriffs, assisted by the Common Serjeant and some of the City officers, proceed to the elections, which are determined by show of hands, "unless a poll be demanded."

If a poll is demanded, it takes place on June 27th, or the following day if that date is a Sunday.

Formerly a fine of £200 was fixed for any person duly nominated who failed to take office, but exemption from both the fine and from taking office might be claimed upon a Sheriff Designate making oath before the Court of Aldermen that he was not worth £30,000.

When a poll is demanded the Sheriffs preside over the election, which is conducted on parliamentary lines. Polling booths are erected in the Great Hall of Guildhall, and before a Liveryman can vote he must satisfy the polling officer that his name is on the *Common Hall List*, a publication issued in May of each year from the office of the Secondary, or Under-Sheriff of the City of London, who is Deputy Returning Officer for all civic elections.

The result of the election is announced from the Husting by the Recorder, and the Common Cryer then calls upon the Sheriffs-Elect to come forward and declare their consent to take up the duties of Sheriff.

After election, and until they are sworn in, the Sheriffs are addressed as "Mr. Sheriff-Elect".

Each Sheriff-Elect has to enter into a bond for £1,000 for his due attendance at Guildhall to be sworn into office, and in case of default is liable to a heavy fine.

The "swearing in" takes place on September 28th in the presence of the Lord Mayor, aldermen and representa-

tives of the Courts of the Sheriffs' Livery Companies, with the same officers in attendance as on the day of election. When the Lord Mayor and aldermen are seated on the Hust-
ing, the Common Cryer commands silence, and calls upon the Sheriffs-Elect, by name, to come forward and take upon themselves the office of Sheriff of London. The Sheriffs-Elect then come to the table, and the Town Clerk administers the declaration of office. The new Sheriffs then take off their Livery or Common Council gowns, and the Sheriffs retiring from office take off their gowns and then clothe the new Sheriffs with their undress robes—which, like those of the aldermen, are violet in colour—and then invest them with their chains of office.

The ceremony is followed in true City fashion by a great feast in the Hall of one of the City Companies. The two Sheriffs entertain their personal friends in the Livery and a large number of distinguished guests at what is called the "Sheriffs' Breakfast," but is more of a banquet than a breakfast.

The full dress robes of a Sheriff are scarlet, and during his year of office he holds a very exalted position in the City. Indeed, the old book from which I have quoted at the head of this chapter, *The Compleat Sheriff*, says: "The Sheriff takes place of every nobleman in the county during the time he is Sheriff." He has multifarious duties of a curious nature, one of which may be mentioned: 'Where a child has been ordered to be whipped and sentenced to detention it is the duty of the Sheriff, or such person as he may designate, to administer the whipping!'

At the end of his year of office the King usually honours his Deputy in the City by conferring on him the honour of knighthood, but unless he is an Alderman or a member of the Court of Common Council he passes out of the public life of the Corporation. Indeed there is a common saying in the City that "there is nothing so dead as an ex-Sheriff".

CHAPTER V

PILLARS OF THE STATE

What constitutes a State?

Men who their duties know,
But know their rights, and knowing dare maintain.
SIR WILLIAM JONES.

THE great officers of the Corporation of London are hardly comparable with the officials of a mere town. Indeed the titles which some of these officers bear are only found in Royal Courts, and their status and importance are almost comparable with those of the dignitaries of a Sovereign or of a State.

THE CHAMBER OF LONDON

The office of Chamberlain of London alone justifies the foregoing remark.

The Chamberlain presides over what is called the "Chamber of London", which was in ancient times almost—if not quite—a Department of State.

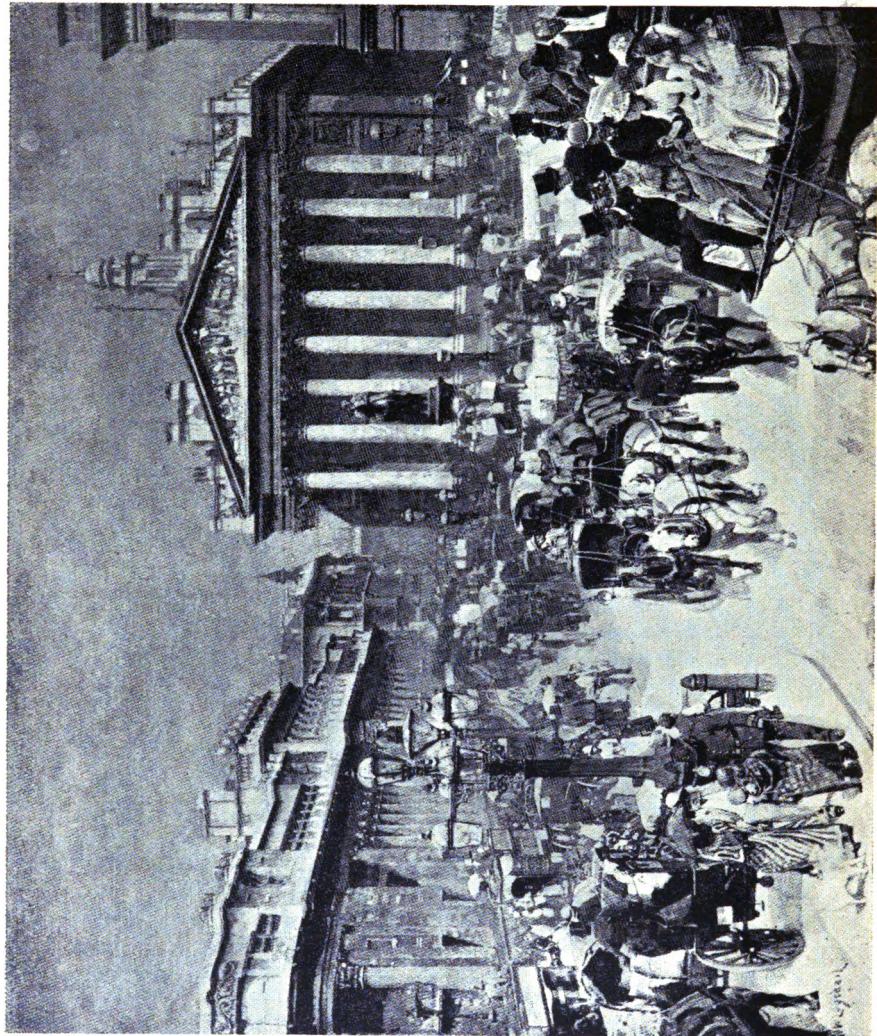
The origin of the Chamber is veiled in obscurity, but it is certain that it existed in very early times and was called by Plantagenet Kings "Our Chamber of London."

The City Chamberlain holds a very ancient office and has always been vested with great responsibilities. He must be clearly distinguished from the King's Chamberlain, who in the thirteenth century was also frequently a citizen. The latter officer was chosen by the Crown, and in their



THE LORD MAYOR AND SHERIFFS' COMMITTEE, 1930

[Face page 48]



Face page 49]

charters to the City both King John and Henry III expressly reserved out of their grants of privileges to the City the right to appoint "Our Chamberlain." The King's Chamberlain usually held the office of King's Butler, to which was attached the Coronership of London.

There is reason to believe that Arnold FitzThedman, who compiled one of the most valuable of early chronicles of London, the *Liber de Antiquis Legibus*, was City Chamberlain in the thirteenth century. He was succeeded in 1276 by Stephen de Mundene, and from this time forward a complete list of Chamberlains, containing many distinguished names, can be found in the City Records.

In ancient times the City Chamberlain was appointed by the Mayor, Aldermen and Commonalty, though occasionally by the Mayor and Aldermen alone. In 1404 it was ordered that the Chamberlain be elected immediately after the election of Sheriffs on the Feast of St. Matthew (September 21st), and since 1475 he has been elected by the Livery, except between 1683 and 1687, when Charles II suspended the City's charters and himself nominated the Chamberlain. He was appointed Collector of Royal Aids, Subsidies and Taxes and of moneys for charitable purposes under briefs from the Sovereign.

In 1666 the Chamberlain was appointed Receiver of the Poll Tax.

He became, in fact, Banker to the Sovereign and to the Corporation, and was the medium through whom Sovereigns borrowed money from the City.

The Chamber of London in Stuart days performed functions which would nowadays be carried out by the Bank of England.

For instance, the Coal Tax for rebuilding St. Paul's Cathedral, and sums borrowed for building various public buildings after the Great Fire, were all paid in to the Chamber. It was not alone money for City purposes which was banked with the Chamberlain, as in 1673 we find the City

of Hamburg paying into the Chamber £35,000 under a Treaty for the satisfaction of the King's subjects in respect of the destruction of British ships in the Elbe by Dutchmen seven years previously.

When William and Mary restored all the City's privileges in 1688, the appointment of Chamberlain reverted to the citizens, and the Chamberlain was again elected by Common Hall.

Since that date there has been no further royal interference with the appointment.

For nearly a century the Chamberlain on appointment has entered into a Deed of Covenant with the Corporation which defines his powers and duties.

As already mentioned, although the Chamberlain is the principal officer of the Corporation he is not elected by that body but by the Court of Common Hall.

The Chamberlain is appointed for one year only, but until he chooses to retire he is, of course, re-elected by the Livery.

He is still the Treasurer or Banker of the City, and has charge of not only the revenue from the private estates of the Corporation known as the City's cash but of all the funds of the Corporation.

Cheques or warrants in payment of the City's debts are drawn on the Chamberlain and not on an ordinary banker.

The Corporation appears to have no power to alter the constitution of the office of Chamberlain, but can frame regulations for the conduct of the Chamber and, with the concurrence of the Chamberlain, can make new disposition of the revenue.

The City's cash is utilized for the payment of part of the salaries of officials so that the emoluments of certain high officers and their clerks are not entirely borne by the rates.

This fund is also used for various expenses of the Corporation, and the cost of all entertainments to foreign potentates and the like is a charge on the City's cash and not on the citizens.

The Chamberlain is the Keeper of the Freemen's Roll, and it is his privilege to admit persons of both sexes to the Freedom of the City.

The Chamberlain holds his own Court, which has existed at least since the reign of Edward I.

By ancient prescription he not only exercises jurisdiction over all matters with reference to the Freedom, but has jurisdiction over City apprentices.

The Court of the Chamberlain consists of the Chamberlain himself and the Comptroller, who is Vice-Chamberlain, and hears and determines disputes between masters and apprentices. The Court is in session throughout the year, except during the month of August, and summonses are granted on the payment of the small sum of one shilling.

Parties may be represented by Counsel or Solicitors and there is a right of appeal to the Mayor's and City of London Court, where the appeal is tried before the Recorder and a common jury.

The powers of the Chamberlain's Court include the commitment of "unruly apprentices" to Bridewell for a period not exceeding three months.

Sentences have been pronounced so recently as 1911, but for many years the period of confinement has been limited to seven or fourteen days.

The decisions of the Chamberlain's Court have been taken to the Superior Courts and upheld by His Majesty's Judges, and the jurisdiction of this ancient tribunal has been preserved by modern statutes.

Indeed so recently as fifty years ago a petition signed by a large number of influential firms employing apprentices was presented to the Home Secretary expressing their

preference for the Chamberlain's Court to the Police Courts for the settlement of disputes between masters and their apprentices.

The office of Chamberlain is indeed a very high and responsible position, and its unique character has made it possible for past Lord Mayors to hold the office on several occasions.

The Chamberlain sits with the Town Clerk and other high officials at all meetings of the Court of Common Council, and is frequently called upon to advise the Court when questions arise with regard to admissions to the Freedom.

He is the spokesman of the Corporation when distinguished persons are admitted to the City's Roll of Fame, and it is his privilege as representative of the Livery and the Freemen to offer the right hand of fellowship to the new Honorary Freemen.

THE TOWN CLERK

The title of this Pillar of the Civic State is familiar, as there are Town Clerks in all cities and boroughs in the Kingdom, but one wishes that his old title of Common Clerk had been retained as it was so distinctive. The Town Clerk of the City of London is, however, the model which all similar officers endeavour to emulate.

He holds an ancient and chartered office which can be traced back to the reign of Edward I in the thirteenth century and has steadily grown in importance and usefulness.

The Town Clerk is the Chief Executive officer of the Corporation and intimately associated with every phase of civic life.

He attends the Court of Aldermen, the Court of Common Council, and the Court of Common Hall, and advises the

various Courts on procedure, conducts their business and keeps their Minutes.

He is the authority on all questions of the Laws, Customs, Liberties and Privileges of the City, and the guide, philosopher and friend of every Member of the Corporation from the Lord Mayor downwards.

During seven centuries many distinguished men have held this important and onerous post, but few have equalled and none have excelled, the distinguished and courteous Knight who now occupies this great office.

Sir James Bell seems to have been born to be a pillar of civic state. His sagacity is profound, his tact unbounded and his judgment always sound and unprejudiced.

It is a liberal education to watch him dealing smoothly and firmly with a difficult paper of business and the various points of order and of procedure which arise during the progress of a debate.

THE COMPTROLLER

The office of Comptroller of the Chamber and of the Bridge House Estates is, like that of Chamberlain, a post peculiar to the City.

The incumbent of this post was generally known from the thirteenth century to the time of Edward IV as Clerk of the Chamber. Part of his duties was to keep a duplicate set of rolls by which the rolls of the Chamber could be checked. In 1311 we find that David de Cotesbroke was appointed Contrarotulator or Comptroller, but it was not till 1478 that the title of Comptroller was invariably used in place of Clerk of the Chamber. This change appears to be additional evidence of the sovereign status of the City. "Comptroller" is the official title of an officer who keeps or audits the accounts of the Royal Household or Government Offices, and outside Departments of State

the only official bearing this distinctive description is the Comptroller of the City.

The Comptroller is the Vice-Chamberlain and sits with the Chamberlain in his Court and acts for him during his absence. He is one of the Law Officers of the Corporation and the Custodian of the title deeds, leases and documents of the various properties of the Corporation, especially the Bridge House Estates, which will be referred to later.

The Comptroller is the Conveyancer of the City, and has the very important and highly technical duty of preparing and examining leases, titles and deeds, in which the Corporation is interested.

The Chamberlain, Town Clerk and Comptroller are the three Trustees for the Corporation and the custodians of the City Seal.

THE REMEMBRANCER

The office of Remembrancer is a constant reminder of the close connection between the City and the Crown. The appointment has existed from Elizabethan days. At first the duties were of a ceremonial and secretarial character, but they have always involved close relations with the Royal Court and the Ministers of State.

The ceremonial duties of the office include the arrangements necessary on the presentation of addresses from the Corporation to the Crown, Members of the Royal Family, or to either House of Parliament. The Corporation is entitled to exceptional privileges on these occasions, and the Remembrancer is responsible for seeing that they are preserved. On the demise of the Crown the Remembrancer has to take measures with respect to the Accession and Proclamation of the Successor. He has also to attend the Court of Claims appointed at Coronations, "put forward the claims of the Lord Mayor and citizens, obtain their allowance and receive the orders in relation to the execution

of them, and to attend the Lord Mayor to St. James's Palace."

The Remembrancer is, in short, the medium of communication between the Ruler of the City and the Sovereign of the Realm. He advises the Lord Mayor and Corporation generally on all matters of procedure and Court etiquette, and through the Lord Chamberlain and Master of the Horse makes the necessary arrangements for Royal visits to the City.

In addition to these highly important ceremonial duties the Remembrancer is the link between the Government of the City and the Government of the Kingdom.

He is the watch-dog of the interests of the Corporation in Imperial Parliament and has to be in constant attendance throughout each session, exercising, of course, special vigilance when measures are under consideration which in any way affect the interests of the citizens.

He reports on all Bills affecting the Corporation to the Court of Common Council, and advises the Committees and the Court as to the progress of such measures. In order to carry out these important parliamentary duties the Remembrancer enjoys the privilege of a seat under the gallery in the House of Commons.

THE CITY SOLICITOR

There are continuous records of the appointment of City Solicitors since the middle of the sixteenth century, so this important office is of considerable antiquity.

The duties of the post are manifold and affect every branch of the work of the Corporation.

All legal points are referred by Committees to the Solicitor in the first instance, and all legal procedure is initiated and conducted from his office.

He is the City Prosecutor and the legal guard of the

magistrates and officers of the City when proceedings are instituted against them for their official acts.

He is also the Draftsman of Acts of Common Council and of City By-Laws and Regulations.

The Solicitor represents the Corporation in an ancient ceremony by which the City pays its rent to the King for two pieces of land, by the presentation of horse-shoes and horse-shoe nails, and by the cutting of faggots with a billhook and a hatchet. One of these pieces of land is known as "The Forge" in the parish of St. Clement Danes, and is first mentioned in 1234, when the tenant, Walter le Brun, paid a quit-rent of six horse-shoes. The property was described in 1272 as being "opposite to the Stone Cross," but its exact position cannot now be identified.

The Solicitor presents to the King's Remembrancer certain gigantic horse-shoes and nails which are carefully counted. The warrants from the Sheriff and the King's Remembrancer respecting this ancient quit-rent are duly read out by the Secondary, and ordered to be filed and recorded.

The second piece of land is known as "waste ground called the Moors in the County of Salop." First mentioned in 1211, it is noted in the Exchequer Roll of 1245 as subject to a rent of two knives, but in the course of the centuries the knives have been translated into one hatchet and one billhook!

The Solicitor produces a small bundle of faggots and proceeds to chop them in pieces with the billhook and with the hatchet, and then he solemnly presents to the King's Remembrancer the billhook and hatchet which he has used.

Probably there is no other ceremony performed in England, other than the Coronation, older than this curious payment of quit-rent. It has gone on century after century in exactly the same fashion. It is conducted with the gravest judicial ceremonial, and the King's Remembrancer

attends at a special court, in complete judicial attire with full-bottomed wig, and takes away with him, on behalf of the King, the billhook and hatchet which the City Solicitor hands over. "It would appear that the horse-shoes and the nails are not actually taken away, although by a fiction of the law they are supposed to have been transferred to the King, but they appear year after year in the ceremony, and are on each occasion duly counted and handed over. A new hatchet and a new billhook, however, are provided annually by the Corporation and presented to the Crown."

THE SECONDARY

This is another office peculiar to the City which has existed continuously since early times.

The Secondary is the Under-Sheriff of the City "Bailiwick," and carries out all writs and process directed to the Sheriffs.

He has his own Court in which he sits to assess damages in cases remitted from the Supreme Court and in compensation cases relating to City property.

His duties embrace the preparation of Parliamentary and Common Hall Lists of Electors and the compilation of the Jury Lists and panels of City jurors for the High Court, Old Bailey, and City Courts.

Under the Sheriffs he conducts Parliamentary and Shrievalty elections, and he is also Deputy Returning Officer for the County Council in the City.

In addition to his duties at Guildhall the Secondary is High Bailiff of Southwark and Returning Officer for the three Parliamentary Divisions of Bermondsey, Rotherhithe and West Southwark, and has certain duties in connection with the Southwark Manors which have been held by the City since the sixteenth century.

The remaining officers of the Corporation have their

parallels in other municipalities. There is no space to refer to their important activities which make the Corporation the best served of public bodies.

Enough has been said to show that the constitution of the City is peculiar to itself, and that its ancient fabric is firmly supported by able and devoted officers who may well be described as "pillars of the State."

CHAPTER VI

THE SOUNDING BOARD OF EMPIRE

THAT master of picturesque phraseology, Lord Mayor Treloar, has applied this striking phrase to the City's pride—Guildhall.

He adds, "It needs no words of mine to point its historical importance. Many sovereigns and most of our greatest statesmen have spoken under its roof."

Lord Coke has called the City *Epitome totius regni*, and these words apply with double force to the ancient Hall which has been the scene of so many turning points in the history of not only England but the Empire. It has been well said that "the stirring episodes, religious, political and social, with which this Hall has been associated for many centuries, clothe it with a far deeper interest than could any mere technical description of its walls, its masonry, the painted glass and sculpture with which it is adorned."

I will therefore attempt to tell the "story" of Guildhall rather than to describe its structure or its many interesting contents.

When a visitor to London passes down King Street from Cheapside, crosses Gresham Street, and enters a quiet *cul de sac*, he finds before him a modest mansion, to which perhaps more than any other building in the country can be truly applied the hackneyed phrase, "the hub of the Empire."

Here, or hereabouts, has stood the meeting place of the citizens of London for nearly seven centuries; but as befits the "citadel" of civic government whose origin is lost in the twilight of fable, the date of the building of

the first Guildhall is legendary—Loftie says it stood in Aldermanbury, and suggests that it was replaced by another built behind the old one in 1290.

He adds that this building faced into what was then the market place, that a beautiful crypt remains, and that the present Guildhall dates from the time of Henry IV.

Like so many of this light-hearted historian's assertions, this statement can only be regarded as a half-truth. The Porch and Great Hall were built in the fifteenth century, and the crypt is certainly not thirteenth or fourteenth century, and most of the building is contemporary with Henry VI rather than his grandfather, in whose reign it was commenced. Stow, indeed, records that the foundation of the Porch was laid in the fourth year of the reign of Henry VI.

Up till the fifteenth century Guildhall was not only an assembly place for the citizens but also the site of the civic government. During the years 1425 to 1430 a Mayor's "Parlour" and "Counsell" Chamber were added, with other rooms above the stairs. The "other rooms" were probably offices for civic officials.

"Last of all," we are told, "a stately porch entering the Great Hall was erected, the front thereof towards the south being beautiful with images of stone."

The stone figures symbolised the virtues Discipline, Justice, Fortitude and Temperance, together with Law and Learning, and were surmounted by an image of our Lord. They were removed in 1789 when George Dance reconstructed the whole front of Guildhall.

The porch is a fine example of fifteenth century architecture, and enshrines a very simple but effective memorial to the officers of the Corporation and the relatives of Aldermen and Common Councilmen who fell in the Great War. The beautiful roof bears the arms of not only King Henry VI, in whose reign it was completed, but those of Edward the Confessor, who reigned from 1041 to 1066.

The arms of the last but one of the Saxon kings would hardly have been placed here, in the Crypt, and in other parts of the Lancastrian building were it not that a firm belief was entertained by the citizens of the period that a Hall had existed in Saxon times in which the guilds of the City had met for the transaction of business.

Proof may be lacking, but, as I have shown in *London's Livery Companies*, certain of the existing guilds, notably the Weavers and Saddlers, undoubtedly go back to Saxon days, so we may reasonably assume they had some common meeting place. Far from being an important building, as Loftie suggests, old Guildhall was really a poor affair, as the Alderman of Farringdon Ward Without, Fabian, in his *Chronicles* which appeared in 1490, speaks of it as an old and little cottage.

The erection of such a fair and goodly house as Guildhall would be a great undertaking to-day, but was an immense enterprise in the fifteenth century.

It is curious to read the efforts made by the Mayor, Aldermen and Common Council to raise funds for building their Hall. Stow tells us that "offences of men were pardoned for sums of money towards this work," so that no means were spared to get the wherewithal for providing the City with a building worthy of its growing importance as a great centre of home and foreign trade. Old Guildhall may have been erected by the guilds, but the fifteenth-century building came into being on the initiative of what we would now call the Corporation. The Livery Companies helped, it is true, with large benevolences, and prominent citizens left bequests towards the good work, but the driving force behind the builders of "new" Guildhall was the civic government, and not the guilds. Notable amongst the City Fathers who promoted the erection of Guildhall was Richard Whittington, whose executors provided stones—some of which are still preserved in the crypt—for paving the great Hall.

They also glazed some of the windows with glass painted with the arms of London's great citizens.

Fortunately, as we shall see, one of the old windows survived the Great Fire, but alas! it was not one of the windows fitted with stained glass.

The Hall took many years to build. It seems to have been still unfinished in 1439, and the actual date when it was taken into use is not clear; but we can picture the pride of the citizens when at last they had a Hall worthy of the City they loved so well. It was a noble building, and was destined to witness many—if not most—of the important events in our national history throughout two dynasties and the greater part of a third.

Here came Jack Cade and his Kentish followers, holding mock trials and sentencing good men to death in the Chepe, and here, too, in after years came real judges to hold real trials and pronounce sentences equally barbarous, such as the condemnation of poor Anne Askew to be burned alive in the fires of Smithfield.

Many other State trials took place within those old walls.

Indeed the Guildhall became at times a Court of Law, at others a place of assembly for the citizens, at others the scene of great feasts, but always a sounding board of national aspirations and national aims.

The old feasts of Guildhall were very different in the seventeenth century to what one would expect. Pepys tells us that when he attended a Lord Mayor's banquet in 1663 although there were ten good dishes to each mess and plenty of wine of all sorts, there were no napkins nor change of trenchers, and they "drunk out of earthen pitchers and used wooden plates."

The Fire came in 1666 and swept away such primitive old customs, and very nearly swept away Guildhall itself. The great oaken roof was so badly damaged that it had to be taken down. Their city and their beloved Guildhall

lay in ruins but, nothing daunted, the brave old City Fathers started to rebuild. They actually raised the walls twenty feet, but there was no time to erect a new pointed roof, so Wren recommended a flat roof as a temporary measure. It was duly erected, and far from being a temporary structure it remained for nearly two hundred years. Old pictures showing this flat roof lead one to wonder why it was put up with for so long, as it gives an odd dwarfed appearance to the well-proportioned Great Hall. That old flat roof looked down on many memorable occasions.

The Merry Monarch must have loved the old place, as he dined there no less than *nine* times.

On one occasion the Lord Mayor, Sir Robert Vyner, became so "elated" with drinking loyal toasts that he grew a little too fond of, and too familiar with, His Majesty. The *Spectator* tells us that "the King understood very well how to extricate himself in all kinds of difficulties and, with a hint to the Company to avoid ceremony, stole off and made for his coach which was standing in Guildhall yard. But the Mayor liked his company so well, and was grown so intimate, that he pursued him hastily, and catching him fast by the hand, cried out with a vehement oath and accent, 'Sir, you shall stay and take t'other bottle.'

"The airy monarch looked kindly at him over his shoulder and with a graceful air (for I saw him at the time and do now) repeated the line of the old song,

'He that is drunk is as great as a king.'

and immediately turned back and complied with his landlord."

His brother was not so tactful as Charles, and when he came to the throne was not invited to Guildhall as he had called in the City's Charter on a writ of *Quo warranto*.

Guildhall was indeed the meeting place of the Lords

Spiritual and Temporal, who invited the Prince of Orange to accept the Throne vacated by the flight of James the Faint-Hearted.

William and Mary and good Queen Anne were staunch friends of the citizens, and when the last of the Stuarts was succeeded by the First of the House of Hanover, it had become the established custom for the King of England to dine with his viceroy of the City on the first Lord Mayor's Day following his accession.

All went well under the Second of the Georges, but under his son the City embarked on a long conflict not only with the Throne but with the House of Commons.

Lord Mayor Beckford had the courage to remonstrate with the King himself—or at any rate is credited with doing so—and his speech brought forth the exclamation from Chatham that “the spirit of old England spoke on that never-to-be-forgotten day.”

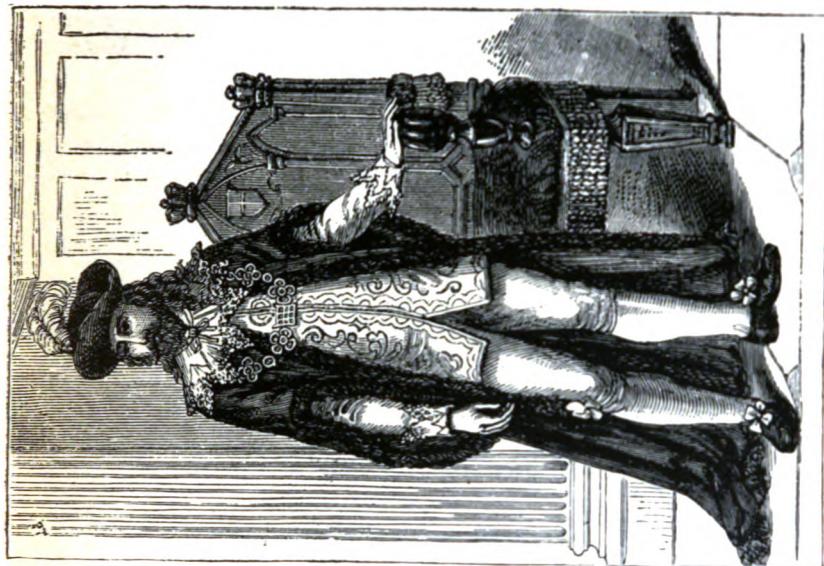
Lord Mayor Crosby and Alderman Oliver carried on the good work by refusing to imprison printers who had reported the debates of the House of Commons of which they were both members.

They were sent to the Tower, but soon released and hailed as “guardians of the City's rights and of the nation's liberties.”

Common Hall was no mere elective assembly in the days of the House of Hanover. It rivalled the Court of Common Council in its active interest in current political events.

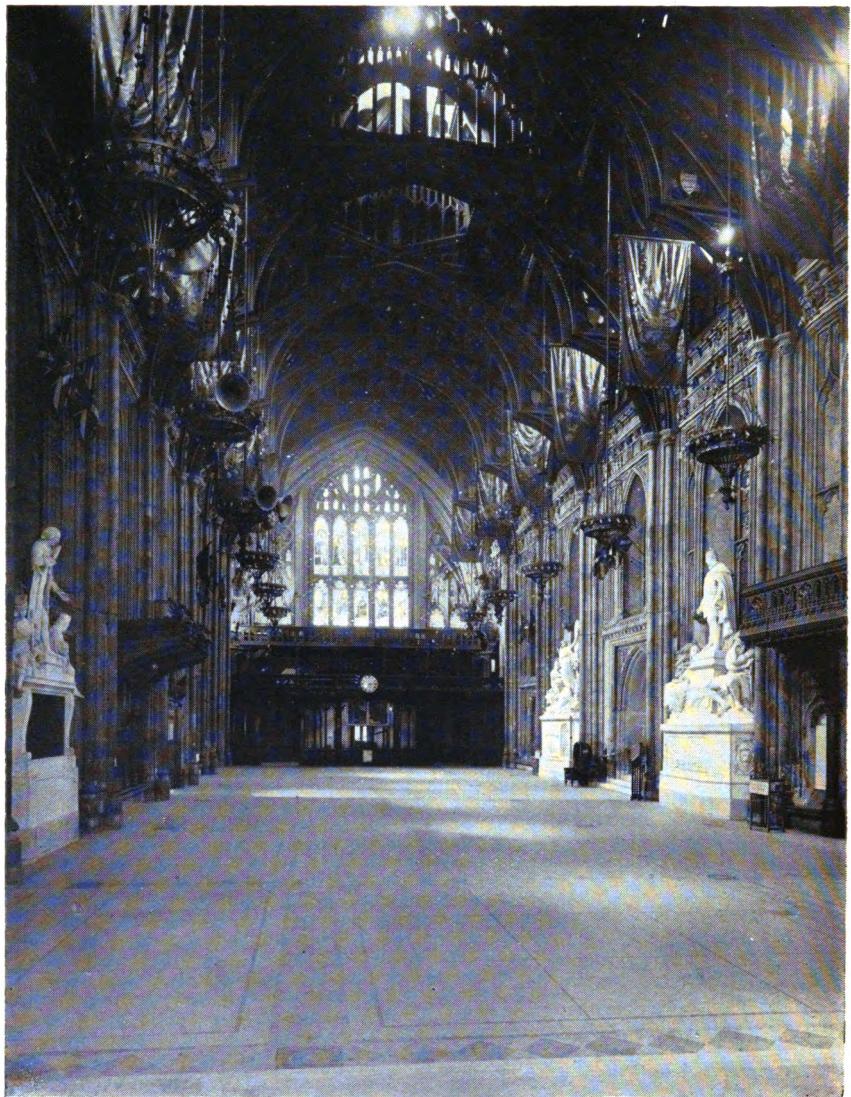
We find the Livery supporting the “Colonists” in the American War of Independence and issuing to England's King a solemn warning “against the fatal policy by His Majesty's Ministers towards the American Colonies.”

In 1807 Common Hall was alarmed by the action of the House of Commons in arresting Sir Francis Burdett for questioning its right to commit a man to prison for proposing to discuss in a Debating Society the proceedings



A LORD MAYOR AND HIS LADY, 17TH CENTURY
From an old print.

[Face page 64



[By kind permission of Messrs. Raphael Tuck & Sons, Ltd.
GUILDHALL. THE GREAT HALL

Face page 65]

of Parliament, and we find the Livery thanking Sir Francis Burdett for upholding the freedom of speech.

Common Council and Common Hall continued to be active in recommending a reform of the franchise, and many meetings culminated in strongly worded addresses in support of the great Reform Bill of 1832.

The passing of the Bill was celebrated in true City fashion by a great banquet at Guildhall, when Earl Grey paid an eloquent tribute to the part played by the City in the great struggle for political freedom.

Going back a little, we find that Guildhall, not Westminster Hall, was the scene of the last appearance of the younger Pitt when he used the memorable words which are so good to recall in these days of stress. He was hailed by the Lord Mayor as Saviour of Europe, and said in reply, "Europe is not to be saved by any single man. England has saved herself by her exertions, and will, I trust, save Europe by her example."

The early nineteenth century witnessed a series of magnificent functions in Guildhall.

Three kings, the Czar of Russia, the King of Prussia, the King of France and the Prince Regent dined under that old flat roof to celebrate the victory of Waterloo.

Nelson and Wellington were welcomed and presented with swords of honour. They were followed by a long line of distinguished soldiers and sailors.

Queen Victoria attended the first Lord Mayor's Banquet after her accession in 1837.

After the Crimean War the Emperor of the French and the King of Sardinia were feasted, and many other sovereigns and potentates entertained; but at last, in the 'sixties, Guildhall had become so dilapidated and the finances of the Corporation so much improved that it was decided that the old Hall which had been the scene of so many notable events in the nation's history must be thoroughly restored. The work was carried out with loving

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care, and a noble open roof copied as closely as possible from the plans of the fifteenth-century roof was put up and a new screen erected at the eastern end of the Hall.

The windows which had hitherto been filled with ordinary glass were at last glazed with painted glass.

The great East window was presented by the Operatives of the Cotton Manufacturing Districts, in gratitude for the work of the Mansion House Committee as almoners of the world's benevolence in distributing half a million sterling to the sufferers from the Cotton Famine which lasted from 1862 to 1865.

Other windows were presented by Livery Companies, private donors, and by the Ward of Bassishaw, and another by my own Ward of Farringdon Without.

One window, however, waited for some generous citizen to make it worthy of the great Hall. After a lapse of nearly fifty years Lord Wakefield of Hythe, with his usual munificence, came forward to complete the adornment of Guildhall by presenting a beautiful window in 1931.

At the unveiling ceremony the Lord Mayor said :

"The subject of the window is Richard Whittington, who lived five centuries ago; and I think I am correct in saying that we have had to wait for the expiration of five centuries in order once more to see an Alderman who has been equally given to good works, and to make munificent gifts."

Speaking at the luncheon at Mercers' Hall which followed the reception of the gift by the Corporation, Sir Vansittart Bowater compared Lord Wakefield to his great predecessor in whose honour the window had been erected.

In his reply Lord Wakefield, in his modest way, said : "It seems to me peculiarly fitting that this window should illumine a comparatively dark corner of our Guildhall, for Whittington was not only a great citizen, in the sense that he loyally observed his civic duties, but a great-hearted man, ever seeking to lighten the darkness of others. What

might be termed the popular conception of Whittington is represented—and I think, quite rightly so—in the Whittington window, but there is ample evidence in support of this interpretation of his generous character. I am greatly indebted to Major Thomas for one such incident to be found in our ancient City records—a story which has lain hidden in our archives until to-day. When Whittington was Sheriff, in 1394, an apprentice, who had been trading on behalf of his master, involved the merchant in serious loss by an error of judgment. His master sued him, when he had served his time, and won the case. The lad was unable to pay either debt or damages, and was committed to Ludgate Prison. The case came up for review before the Mayor's Court. It was clear that the master had the letter of the law of that time on his side, but the young man's case aroused compassion, and the Mayor and Aldermen suggested that he should be set free, and allowed to pay the amount due by small deductions from his wages. The young man, however, possessed a strong sense of justice, and he preferred to go back to prison rather than submit even to this compromise. Richard Whittington, as Sheriff, was ordered to take him back to prison. Five months later there was an unexpected sequel. It was found that the boy was no longer in prison, and the master, as he was entitled to do, sued Whittington for the amount due for letting the lad go free. Whittington put in a merely formal defence, but did not contest the action. What had happened was that, moved by pity, and impressed by the essential justice of the apprentice's case, Whittington had sent him forth to make a fresh start in life. He was prepared to pay the debt and the damages out of his own pocket, and actually did so—to a considerable amount.

"There, in a small incident, we have a glimpse of the man's essential character. Years later, in 1419, he showed his merciful nature in rescinding a decree of some of his predecessors by which prisoners for debt had been removed

from the comparatively comfortable Ludgate to Newgate, which was then fever-stricken and ruinous. Whittington's first act, when he became Mayor for the fourth time in that year, was to order that the survivors should be returned to Ludgate. As we know from the terms of his will, conditions at Newgate were much in his mind, and he made generous provision for its rebuilding on more humane lines."

"The Guildhall," Lord Wakefield continued, "is the spiritual home of tradition, of ancient customs and beliefs, of unswerving reverence for whatever is true and good in our civic heritage, and of loyalty to the mingled fact and legend, poetry and prose, in which the story of our great citizens of the past is recorded. To-day our task at the Guildhall is one that, in variety and complexity, would have baffled our civic ancestors, but it is carried out in an honest endeavour to equal the ardour for service to others that inspired them all—and, so notably, Richard Whittington. Therefore, it is fitting that one of the windows raised to illumine and beautify this glorious Hall should preserve the memory of one of the noblest of our fellow-citizens, and also those cherished legends by which his name and fame live, and will live, in every home."

Students of civic history will remember the old story that on the termination of the war with France, in 1421, King Henry V and his Queen were entertained in the Guildhall, "Sir" Richard Whittington being Mayor at the time. The King, remarking on the fire in which some sweet-scented wood was burning, Whittington, in order to render it still more attractive, is said to have thrown into the flames bonds to the value of £60,000 given by the King, who thereon exclaimed, "Happy the King to have such a subject," to which Whittington's courtly rejoinder was, "Rather, happy is the subject to have such a King."

This legend forms the subject of the two upper and main lights in the window; the King, Queen, and attendants

occupying the left light, and Whittington that on the right. The background behind and above these figures contains an indication of a banqueting table and canopied dais, and a gallery with musicians. The shields at the top of these lights bear the arms of the King and of the City of London.

The two small lights below represent ships of the period sailing into London, the quay forming the immediate foreground being occupied by two men handling bales and boxes (right light), and the boy Dick Whittington, with the cat by his side, looking at the scene, and dreaming of his future ventures and achievement.

The tracery lights above contain symbols indicating the nature of Whittington's various benefactions—the Church is represented by a chalice and cross surmounted by a dove, libraries by an open book and lamp, hospitals by the symbol of the healing art—the serpent curled round a rod. The small tracery openings contain ringing bells.

Dr. Douglas Strachan, the artist responsible for the design, experienced considerable difficulty in dealing with the window, because there is no outside light, and a dark wall exists within a few feet. The difficulty has been overcome by manipulating the few colours which retain a certain purity in such a position, and by employing every technical device to intensify their effect.

Five very ornate monuments adorn—or, as some think, encumber—the walls of Guildhall. Two are to great statesmen, the elder and the younger Pitt. The inscription on the Earl of Chatham's cenotaph is attributed to Edmund Burke, and that on his son's to George Canning.

One is to a great sailor, Nelson, and the wording is from the pen of the brilliant Irishman, Richard Brinsley Sheridan.

One is to the Great Duke, and the fifth to Lord Mayor Beckford, and here the speech to King George III, which is engraved on the monument, is believed to have been written by Horne Tooke!

"Compare," says Beresford Chancellor, "the inexpressive verbosity with the simple wording of the South African and Great War Memorials!"

The South African War memorial is a bronze bas-relief on three columns, and near it is the sole surviving window of the pre-Fire Guildhall. It was discovered filled up with laths and plaster in 1909, and carefully restored to its original condition. It is interesting to think that this window was one of those that the executors of Richard Whittington glazed nearly five hundred years ago.

At the west side of the Hall stand a handsome gallery and screen erected in 1866. This gallery is the first place enquired for by many visitors to Guildhall, as it supports at either end the world-famous figures of Gog and Magog. These colossal figures have kept watch and ward in Guildhall for more than two centuries. They succeeded in 1708 two giants which for many years were carried in each Lord Mayor's Show.

These monster effigies were made of wickerwork and paste board, and eventually succumbed to years of service aided by the City's rats and mice which, we are told, gnawed out "their entrails!"

They were replaced by the present Titans carved by Captain Richard Saunders of King Street, Cheapside, and cost the Corporation £70, a figure which even my colleagues to-day would consider reasonable, as they are no less than fourteen and a half feet in height and made of English elm.

Looking towards the gallery from the Hall the figure on the right is Gog; at his back is slung a bow and arrows, and in his right hand is a spiked ball fastened by a chain to a long staff—a nasty weapon, called a "Morning Star", well known in medieval warfare.

Magog is clothed as a Roman soldier and bears a shield and spear.

The heads of both giants are wreathed in laurel.

The presence of these figures in Guildhall is a reminder of the firm belief of our ancestors in the legend, to which I have already referred, that London was founded by adventurous fugitives from Troy, and a thousand years before the Christian era was known as New Troy.

Two of the giants from whom Brute had to wrest the country joined with the invaders, and their faithful services are recorded by these interesting old figures.

We need not pause to refer to the numerous historic scenes and splendid gatherings which have taken place in this beautiful Hall since its restoration by our generous-minded Victorian forbears at whose love for conventionality it has been the fashion to scoff.

It is sufficient to say that in our own day, as at all times during the past four centuries, great soldiers, great sailors, mighty statesmen and large-hearted philanthropists have all looked on being received at Guildhall by the Court of the Ruler of the City as—short only of Royal favours—the highest mark of approval of their achievements by their fellow countrymen.

We pass out of the Hall up a flight of steps into an antelobby which contains a number of frescoes to illustrate the connection between the City and her Livery Companies. They were presented by Sir Stuart Knill, and hardly receive the attention they deserve, except from students of heraldry.

Here is the office of the Keeper of the City's citadel, one of the busiest officers of Guildhall, but fortunately no longer a jailer. It was not always so, as under the old Hall Keeper's office were two dark cells or cages, in which unruly apprentices were sometimes confined by order of the City Chamberlain: these were called *Little Ease*, for a boy could not stand upright in them!

Folding doors admit us to a fine lobby, off which are the Council Chamber, the Aldermen's Court Room and passages leading to the various offices of the Corporation, the New

Court Room, and the Committee Rooms in which the main work of the Corporation is carried on.

The Council Chamber is approached through a pair of magnificent bronze gates. It was first used in 1884, and is the third of which we have any memorials. We know nothing of the "Counsell Chamber" referred to by Stow, as the first place of assembly of which records exist was taken into use in 1614. It was the scene of many great events, notably the visit of King Charles I when he appeared before the Court of Common Council to demand the surrender of the Five Members of Parliament who were "lurking in the City."

This historical hall was replaced by the "Old" Council Chamber in 1777. This building was erected on part of the garden of the then Town Clerk's house. Like its predecessor it witnessed many stirring scenes, and apart from the mere presence of great personages here were "fostered and supported those great charities which are the glory and boast of this old England of ours—Almshouses, Asylums, Dispensaries, Hospitals, Infirmaries, Schools, and Societies of many kinds, whose objects are the removal and relief of poverty and distress."

The "New" Council Chamber is a splendid and dignified building duodecimal in design. The close association between the Corporation and the Livery Companies is shown by the fact that the arms of all the Companies, major and minor, are introduced into the decoration of the Chamber.

All but one, I should say, as the Worshipful Company of Master Mariners was not in existence when the Chamber was erected.

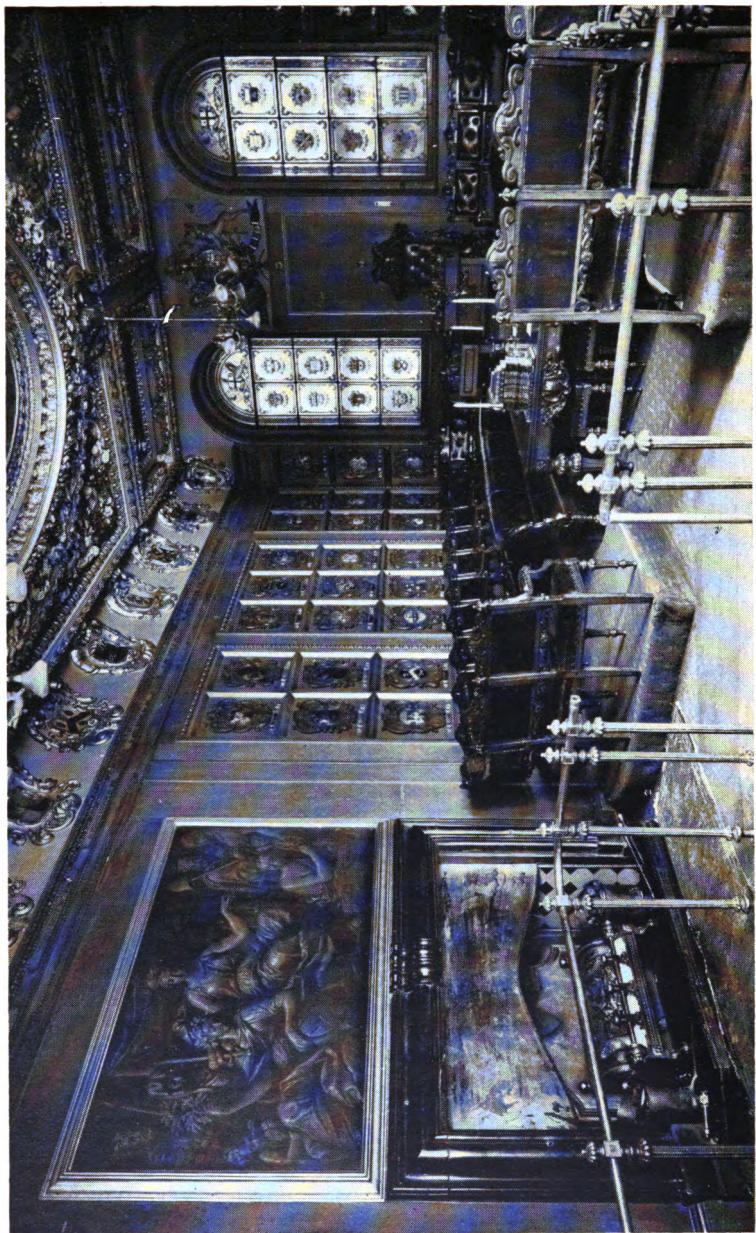
The Council Chamber is best seen on the first meeting of the Court after the installation of a new Lord Mayor. On these occasions the Chamber makes a brave show, as the Aldermen wear their scarlet robes, and the Common Councilmen their famous gowns which date from the time of



GUILDHALL, THE WHITTINGTON WINDOW
Presented by the Right Hon. The Lord Wakefield of Hythe
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Face page 72

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GUILDHALL. THE ALDERMEN'S COURT ROOM



Face page 73]

Edward VI. They are made of mazarine silk trimmed with badgers' fur.

The Councilmen formerly wore black, and the change is alluded to in a political song of 1766:

"Oh, London is a town of towns! Oh, how improved a City!
Since changed her Common Council's gown, from black to
blue so pretty!"

Like the Palace of Westminster, Guildhall has its "gilded chamber" where sit the City's Barons—the Aldermen.

This apartment, known as the Aldermen's Court Room, is one of the most ornate and attractive courts of the Kingdom.

Alas! we do not know the name of the artist to whom we owe the beautiful moulding and rich and tasteful designs with which the room is decorated.

The room dates from the early part of the seventeenth century and was damaged in the Great Fire, so that the artist who re-decorated it was one of those unknown men of genius who did so much to beautify the buildings which rose on the ashes of the old City.

We do know that the allegorical paintings on the ceiling and over the fine black marble mantelpiece were given by Sir James Thornhill in 1727.

The room appears to have been re-embellished in 1807 and the windows remodelled in 1823, but it is curious that we know so little of the beautiful chamber which houses the "Inner Court" of the Corporation.

The members sit round a table under the presidency of the Lord Mayor, the senior alderman sitting on his left and the Recorder on his right. The Sheriffs, whether they are aldermen or not, have seats in the Court.

Guildhall houses not only the two great Courts of the Corporation, the Courts of Justice to be referred to later, and the various administrative civic departments, but

provides a Library, a Museum and an Art Gallery for London.

The Library is one of the most noble possessions of the City. It has a curious history. Five hundred years ago the executors of "Sir" Richard Whittington founded at Guildhall what was doubtless the first public library in England. This library came to an untimely end, as, in the reign of Edward VI, Somerset, the Lord Protector, borrowed—and never returned—its priceless books and manuscripts. Discouraged by this act of vandalism, the Corporation did without a library for nearly three hundred years.

A start was made at collecting books again in 1824, but it was not till 1868 that the Guildhall Library was adequately housed in the handsome modern Gothic building which it still occupies. Progress has been rapid, as in less than sixty years the zeal of successive Library Committees and Librarians has endowed it with books on every possible subject, so that to-day it ranks as a general reference library only second to the British Museum.

Besides its books and manuscripts, Guildhall Library is famous for its newspaper room, which is used daily by hundreds of citizens, as it provides what is believed to be the finest collection of trade journals and directories in the world.

Just outside the newspaper room is a remarkable collection of watches and clocks deposited in a special room by the Worshipful Company of Clockmakers.

The collection illustrates the development of the clockmaker's art from the earliest times to the present day, and includes many valuable and beautiful examples of the work of all the great exponents of the delicate craft of making timepieces, including Harrison, Tompion, Graham and their descendants.

This little museum is unique, and reflects great credit on the progressive and enterprising Guild of Clockmakers.

Guildhall contains many pictures, mostly portraits of

Lord Mayors, but there are several fine historical paintings, notably one showing George III receiving the City's Sword at Temple Bar, another showing the great banquet at Guildhall in 1814, to which I have referred above, and a third portraying the reception by the Corporation of Louis Philippe. But it was not till late in the last century that a Guildhall Art Gallery was thought of and eventually opened to the public in 1886. The Art Gallery has been a great success, and the building which houses it has been twice enlarged.

A feature of the Gallery has been the organisation of free exhibitions of works of art collected from various sources. By means of these exhibitions pictures and other objects of art have been shown to the public which they could not have seen were it not for the interest and generosity of the Library Committee of the Corporation.

In addition to its use for the education of the public the Art Gallery is a beautiful addition to the resources of the hosts when the Corporation gives one of its famous Conversaziones to great public gatherings in London.

On these occasions the Art Gallery is sometimes used as a Reception Room, and at others utilized to display the Civic Regalia in addition to the beautiful collection of pictures and statues which it enshrines.

Leaving the Art Gallery the visitor returns to the Great Hall, and enters a fine doorway just below a small gallery on the north-east side which is used by the Lady Mayoress and her Maids and Pages of Honour on Lord Mayor's Day.

We descend by a modern staircase and find ourselves in the finest fifteenth-century underground apartment in London, if not in Europe.

It is divided into two parts, the Eastern and Western Crypts. Only the Eastern Crypt is in use for what we may call ceremonial functions. The Western Crypt is devoted to heating and storage purposes.

It was at one time thought that the Western Crypt belonged to an earlier Guildhall than the present, but it is now believed that it was built at the same time as its more ornate sister, but was used from the first, as it is at present, for domestic purposes.

The Eastern Crypt is worthy of the Great Hall which stands above it. The roof is supported by six graceful pillars with shafts of blue Purbeck marble. It makes a magnificent setting for luncheons and other functions, and is often utilized for providing the generous hospitality which the City offers to its guests on great ceremonial occasions at Guildhall.

When Queen Victoria and the Prince Consort paid a visit in 1851 the Crypt was fitted up in the style of an old baronial hall, and provided with suitable furniture. The valuable plate of the City Companies was displayed upon an oak sideboard. In each of the recesses were placed mirrors, and from the walls were suspended tapestries copied from the famous examples at Bayeux, representing the incidents connected with the conquest of England by William I. Around the columns supporting the roof, City policemen stood clad in suits of armour brought from the Tower—truly a remarkable scene.

From the Crypt we pass through a doorway on the eastern side of the Museum, which is a place of pilgrimage for all who are interested in relics of old London.

It is rich in specimens of medieval pottery, bronze, weapons, armour and jewelry, and contains a very remarkable collection of old London Inn signs dating from the seventeenth century.

Freemasons will be interested in the sign of the "Goose and Gridiron"—the famous tavern which, as we shall see, was the earliest meeting place of the Grand Lodge of England.

The less serious will be amused by the sign of the "Bull and Mouth," the most famous of the old coaching inns in

St. Martin's-le-Grand. On the lower portion is a tablet containing the following doggerel couplet:

"Milo the Cretonian an ox slew with his fist,
And ate it up at one meal—ye gods! what a glorious twist!"

Such, very briefly, is Guildhall.

Here, indeed, is an epitome of English history from Norman times to National Government.

Here is a building which enshrines Law Courts, Council Chambers, Offices, an Art Gallery, a Museum, a Library, aye! and even a Club!

Can this be said of any other building in the Empire?

Here the visitor on prosaic business is reminded at every turn that he is treading in the footsteps of Kings and Queens and of all the great men and women who have made our Empire what it is.

Here is a fifteenth-century building which has adapted itself to the requirements of the twentieth.

Here is a great House which though ancient is—like the Corporation of London itself—ever young.

CHAPTER VII

THE WARDS

O City, founded by Dardanian hands,
Whose towering front the circling realm commands,
Too blest abode! no loveliness we see
In all the earth but it abounds in thee.

SIR LAURENCE GOMME found in the division of the City into wards support for his claim that modern London had derived its civic government from the Romans.

The theory, fascinating as it is, finds little support from other authorities, but it is at any rate certain that the majority of the wards existed more or less in their present form soon after the Norman Conquest. In the earliest list, made in or about 1130, the greater number of the wards are designated by the names of their aldermen, but it is possible to identify their position with reasonable certainty. A complete list of twenty-four wards is found in 1228, to which were afterwards added Farringdon Without and the transpontine ward of Bridge Without. At the end of that century they were known by their present names.

The wardmote, or assembly of the citizens of the ward, is a survival of an ancient Court held under the lord of a jurisdiction, or soke, in Saxon days.

In medieval times the jurisdiction of the wardmotes was extensive, as they had not only the view of frankpledge and the election and removal of officers, but also power to hear and determine minor criminal offences. This last branch of jurisdiction was swept away by Magna Carta, but the power of inquiring into offences and presenting

them to superior tribunals, lasted, in nominal form, till modern times. These obsolete powers were exercised through what was called the wardmote inquest.

Up till 1907 these wardmotes managed the wards and raised money by rate, but in that year the Union of Parishes Act swept away the powers of the wardmotes and concentrated all their fiscal functions in the newly-formed Valuation and Rating Department at Guildhall.

The wardmotes still meet to elect the aldermen and Common Councilmen and to consider matters relating to the ward, but their powers are limited to making recommendations to the Court of Common Council through their representatives.

There are, as we have seen, twenty-six wards, and each has its alderman. Besides the Wards of the City proper, there is the Ward of Bridge Without, or Southwark, but this suburb has never elected either Common Councilmen or aldermen.

The Lord Mayor took formal possession of Southwark on May 9th, 1550, and it was originally intended, no doubt, that the borough should be formally incorporated with the City, but the inhabitants refused "to take up their freedom" and bear the burdens of citizenship.

Their successors in the nineteenth century regretted the action of their sixteenth-century predecessors, and in 1835 certain persons in Southwark petitioned the Common Council that they might in future exercise the right of electing not only an alderman but Common Councilmen for the ward. It was decided, however, that the holding of wardmotes would interfere with the duties of an ancient officer, the Seneschal or Steward of Southwark, and the petition was not complied with. A further petition presented as recently as 1892 was equally unsuccessful.

The alderman of Bridge Without is chosen by the Court of Aldermen from those of its members who have "passed

the Chair." The office is a sort of aldermanic Chiltern Hundreds, but the incumbent of this honorary post, although he has no ward responsibilities, still carries on his important judicial duties as a magistrate and member of the City's "House of Lords."

As we have seen, one ward obtained its name from its original lord of the manor, Farringdon; the remainder obtained their designations in a variety of ways. Eight are called after the ancient gates, or "ports" of the City, Aldersgate, Aldgate, Billingsgate, Bishopsgate, Cripplegate Within and Without, Dowgate and Portsoken. One is called after the ancient market of the City, Cheapside, and another after an ancient thoroughfare, Broad Street. Two get their names from little tributaries of the Thames, the Langbourne and the Walbrook; two from London Bridge, one from the Tower of London, one from the property, or "hithe" of the Queen of Henry I, and another from a great feudal mansion, Castle Baynard.

Only six have derived their name from trades carried on within their boundaries—Bread Street, Candlewick, Cordwainer, Coleman Street, Lime Street and Vintry, but it is a curious fact that the trade of the modern City is so distributed that each ward is predominantly associated to-day with some special industry or commercial activity.

For instance, the textile trade of the kingdom has its headquarters in Bread Street and the two Cripplegate.

Broad Street is the home of finance, Bishopsgate and Langbourne of the bankers, Aldersgate of the furriers, and Aldgate of the shipping industry. Billingsgate is the great centre for fish and fruit, whilst in Tower ward are the dealers in wine, tea, rubber and grain.

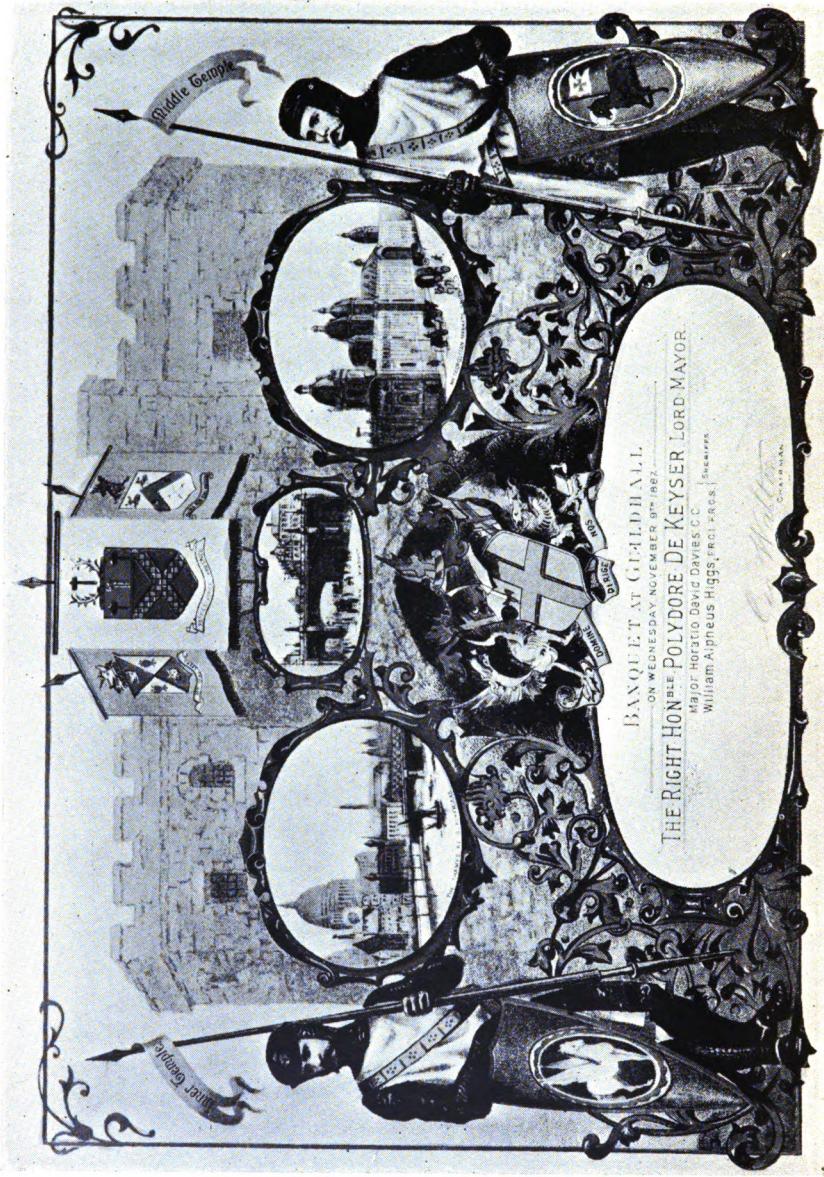
Vintry obviously got its name from the merchants of Gascony who landed their casks on its banks, but the wine shippers have shifted their quarters down the river to the Tower ward, to be nearer the Custom House. Nowa-

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GUILDEHALL. THE COUNCIL CHAMBER



[Face page 80]



THE MANY INTERESTS OF THE FARRINGDON WARDS—THE WORLD, THE FLESH AND THE DEVIL

Face page 81]

days Vintry shares with Queenhithe and Castle Baynard the favours of merchants dealing in the rather diverse commodities of fur, paper and heavy iron.

ALDERSGATE

This ward grew up round the great northern entrance to the City—Alders Gate. The source of the name of this ancient portal is uncertain. Was it so-called after Ealdred, or was the title derived from the alder trees which flourished in the neighbourhood in olden days? Whatever the origin of its name, the gate itself was a dominant feature of the Ward. Over it lived the Common Cryer, and through it passed James VI of Scotland on his way to be crowned King of England as James I.

Aldersgate ward contains to-day some very notable buildings, including part of the General Post Office, most of which is in Farringdon Within. This great structure covers the site of an ancient religious foundation which, as I have pointed out in *London's Livery Companies*, was closely linked with the Saddlers' Guild. The men of God and the makers of saddles enjoyed a common place of worship and a common place of interment. Beneath the stones of the General Post Office reposes the mingled dust of canon, monk and saddler, more closely united in death than in life and more inseparable.

The old monastery of the monks of St. Martin passed into the hands of the Dean and Chapter of Westminster, and was in, but not of, the City until the last century, as it maintained a separate existence as the Liberty, or Precinct, of St. Martin's-le-Grand. It was not till 1815 that this piece of independent territory was acquired by the General Post Office and united to the City by Act of Parliament.

The Ward is notable for containing the Halls of great

Livery Companies, the Goldsmiths and Ironmongers, and part of Haberdashers' Hall.

The Goldsmiths have been in the district for nearly six centuries, as the site occupied by their beautiful modern Hall has been the property of the Guild since 1340.

Since the War Aldersgate has been enriched by the erection of the new Hall of the Ironmongers' Company. This Fraternity had their home in Fenchurch Street until 1917, when their Hall was destroyed by a German bomb. Shaftesbury Place, in which the new Ironmongers' Hall stands, was, until they built over it, an open court surrounded by some old-world cottages. There was a storm of protest against the covering in of an open space, but this is already forgotten.

The ward is, however, lucky in having one of the largest open spaces in the City, as it contains the well-known "Postmen's Park" which, as its name implies, forms a little recreation ground for the employees in the General Post Office. The "Park" is the churchyard of St. Botolph, and is a delightful little oasis of trees and green turf in a desert of bricks and mortar.

In Barbican stood the old Watch Tower, where the Roman cohorts were able to watch the advance of enemies or the approach of friends.

The Ward is a bustling busy place to-day, but in the time of Elizabeth the whole district was the Belgravia of London and great nobles lived in the Ward. Much later we know that John Milton took up his residence in the district at 8, Maidenhead Court, which was regarded as a suitable retreat for a poet on account of its quiet restfulness!

ALDGATE

This ward contains the Baltic Exchange, Trinity House, Lloyds' Register, and the palatial offices of many of the

great shipping lines, so that it may proudly claim to be the London centre of the shipping industry. In ancient times it was approached through the eastern gate of the City, which, according to Loftie, was called Aldgate, not because it was old, as some have suggested, but because it was a gate open to all. Actually the derivation of the name is still a mystery. The ward contained the great Priory of the Holy Trinity, and the good canons of the Priory re-built this gate in the reign of Henry I, and threw it open without toll to everyone.

The Priory shared the fate of the other ecclesiastical houses at the Reformation, and passed into the possession of the Dukes of Norfolk, whose connection with the district is preserved by Duke's Street and Duke's Place. No relics of the old priory remain, even in the names of buildings, except that the curious word "Cree" added to the name of the parish church of St. Catharine is said to be a corruption of "Christ," and derived from the Priory chapel which was called Christ Church.

From being the home of a great Christian monastery, Aldgate has become an important centre of the Jewish faith. The Spanish and Portuguese Synagogue in Bevis Marks dates from 1701, and its records contain a register of the circumcision of Benjamin Disraeli in 1804.

Perhaps the best known feature of the Ward is Aldgate Pump, which marks the site of an ancient well and still serves as a drinking fountain. It stands at the angle of Fenchurch Street and Leadenhall Street, and is regarded with pride by the citizens as an interesting survival which has escaped many efforts to remove it.

BASSISHAW

Stow called this ward "a small thing," and it is, indeed, the smallest ward in the City. It derives its name from

an old City family, the Basings, who were the principal residents of the district, and gave the City a number of Lord Mayors and Sheriffs.

Basinghall Street, also called after this house, formerly contained Blackwell or, more properly, Bakewell Hall, the great cloth mart of the City, which existed up till 1820.

The Ward shares with Cheap and Cripplegate Within the honour of containing Guildhall. It also contains the beautiful seventeenth-century Hall of the Girdlers' Company, with its little garden in which still flourish a fig tree and a mulberry tree, and the modern home of the ancient Guild of Coopers.

The Weavers and the Masons formerly flourished in Bassishaw, but Weavers' Hall is now a block of offices, and the site of Masons' Hall, the birthplace of the great Fraternity of Freemasons, is now a restaurant.

BILLINGSGATE

There is little of romance about the modern ward of Billingsgate, although some of the language of the fish porters has the reputation of being picturesque. The Alderman of the Ward, Sir William Coxen, however, indignantly denies this statement, and declares that his constituents are the most mild-mannered of men, and that "Dear me!" is almost the strongest expression to be heard in his famous markets. Be this as it may, our forefathers weaved a pretty story round the origin of the Ward. They believed that it obtained its name from a British King, Belin, who flourished centuries before the Roman invasion, and built an entrance to the Celtic town from a little haven on the banks of the river. This watergate became the King's tomb and gave its name to the district, which has ever since been known as Billings or Belin's Gate.

The little harbour of Billingsgate, being almost the

nearest point in the City to the sea, soon became a resort for fishermen, who sold their fish on the quayside in sheds until 1877, when the Corporation provided the present market buildings.

Opposite the Fish Market is the Coal Exchange. Billingsgate contains no Livery Halls, but has interesting associations with two bodies similar to the City Companies.

The Watermen's Hall in St. Mary-at-Hill houses the Watermen's Company, which formerly controlled a large and active community, and has still important functions delegated to it by the Port of London Authority.

Close by was the Hall of the Fellowship Porters, a body which had a monopoly of portage in the City. The Guild was under the authority of the aldermen of Billingsgate, and flourished until 1894, when it was dissolved.

The surviving members of this old Fraternity owe a great deal to the interest of Lord Wakefield, whose generosity provides an annual outing for the old gentlemen, and adds many comforts to their declining years.

The Ward formerly contained the King's Weigh House, which became converted into a Dissenting Meeting House, and was the scene of the activities of many well-known preachers who differed fundamentally from the Established Faith. Nowadays Billingsgate contains, at St. Mary-at-Hill, the headquarters of one of the most active bodies in the modern Church of England—the Church Army.

Billingsgate enjoys the distinction of being the birth-place of the Great Fire of London, which broke out in Pudding Lane, but, curiously enough, the Monument is outside the Ward.

Philpot Lane commemorates the name of Lord Mayor Philpot, who, prior to the formation of the Royal Navy, fitted out a fleet which successfully maintained the rights of peaceful commerce on the North Sea (see *London's Livery Companies*, p. 32).

BISHOPSGATE

The gate from which this quarter took its name is said by Wheatley to have been called after a Saxon bishop of London, St. Erkenwald, whose shrine in old St. Paul's was a place of pilgrimage. Until the present century a feature of Bishopsgate was Crosby Hall, the last survival of the mansions of London's medieval merchant princes. The site was purchased by the Chartered Bank of India in 1907, and the old Hall taken down and re-erected at Chelsea as part of a hostel for University women. The Ward was evidently a favourite residential district in olden times, as it also contained, until 1890, Sir Paul Pindar's House, a picturesque City magnate's mansion of the time of Elizabeth and James I, which, for something like a century before its demolition, was used as a tavern. The front of this fine Tudor relic has been preserved at the Victoria and Albert Museum, and is the subject of one of my illustrations. No trace however remains of a building in Half Moon Alley pulled down in the last century and "traditionally reported to have been the keeper's lodge in the park attached to Sir Paul's residence. Mulberry-trees, and other park-like vestiges in the neighbourhood, are still said to be almost within memory."

The ward enshrines Great St. Helens, which recalls the site of an ancient nunnery acquired by the Leathersellers' Company at the Dissolution of the Monasteries. The refectory was used as the Company's Livery Hall until 1799, when as it had become unsafe and could not be repaired it was pulled down to make room for a modern Hall which preceded the present still more modern building. The ward was formerly famous for its places of refreshment for man and beast, including the Bull Inn, which was a favourite resort of the strolling players of Elizabethan days. Another

hostelry, the "London Tavern," a popular place for public meetings and dinners, flourished in Bishopsgate right up till 1876.

Gresham College, originally the town house of Sir Thomas Gresham, was partly in the ward. Here the Royal Society was started by Sir Christopher Wren and others. The former site of the College is now occupied by Gresham House, one of the fine buildings in a ward conspicuous for the palatial modern offices of great banks and mercantile houses.

The northern part of the ward is largely occupied by the great terminus and hotel of the Great Eastern Railway. The hotel stands on the site of the ancient Priory of the Star of Bethlehem, founded by a Sheriff of London in the thirteenth century. The Priory was handed over to the Corporation of London by Henry VIII, and became a Royal Hospital devoted to the care of the insane. It was transferred in 1814 to St. George's Fields, Southwark, where it acquired the name of "Bedlam." The old Georgian buildings had become unsuitable for the purposes of a modern hospital, and in 1930 this ancient foundation was transferred to Monk's Orchard near Croydon.

Lord Wakefield is the President of this institution, and has not only taken a great interest in its welfare but gave great financial support in the erection of its new home.

Her Majesty the Queen performed the ceremony of opening the new buildings, which was carried out in the presence of a distinguished company.

Bishopsgate contains Devonshire House, which was for many years the headquarters of the Society of Friends. The home of this peace-loving fraternity was in close proximity to Artillery Lane, so called as it led to the former practice grounds of the Honourable Artillery Company.

On the northern boundary of the ward once stood the Priory of St. Mary Spital, a medieval hospital. Its name is preserved in Spital Square, where a sermon was preached every Easter from an open-air pulpit until comparatively

recent days. The sermon is still preached, but nowadays from the pulpit of Christ Church, Newgate Street. The preacher is usually a distinguished cleric, and he is entertained after his labours at the Easter Banquet at the Mansion House.

BREAD STREET

Bread Street Ward marks the position of two medieval markets, one for bread and the other for fish—the fare for Friday.

At the corner of Friday Street stands a little garden, which is all that remains of the old church of St. John the Evangelist. It must have peculiar interest to the alderman of the Ward—himself a Knight of St. John—as there is a tradition that this parish enjoyed immunity from infection during the Great Plague.

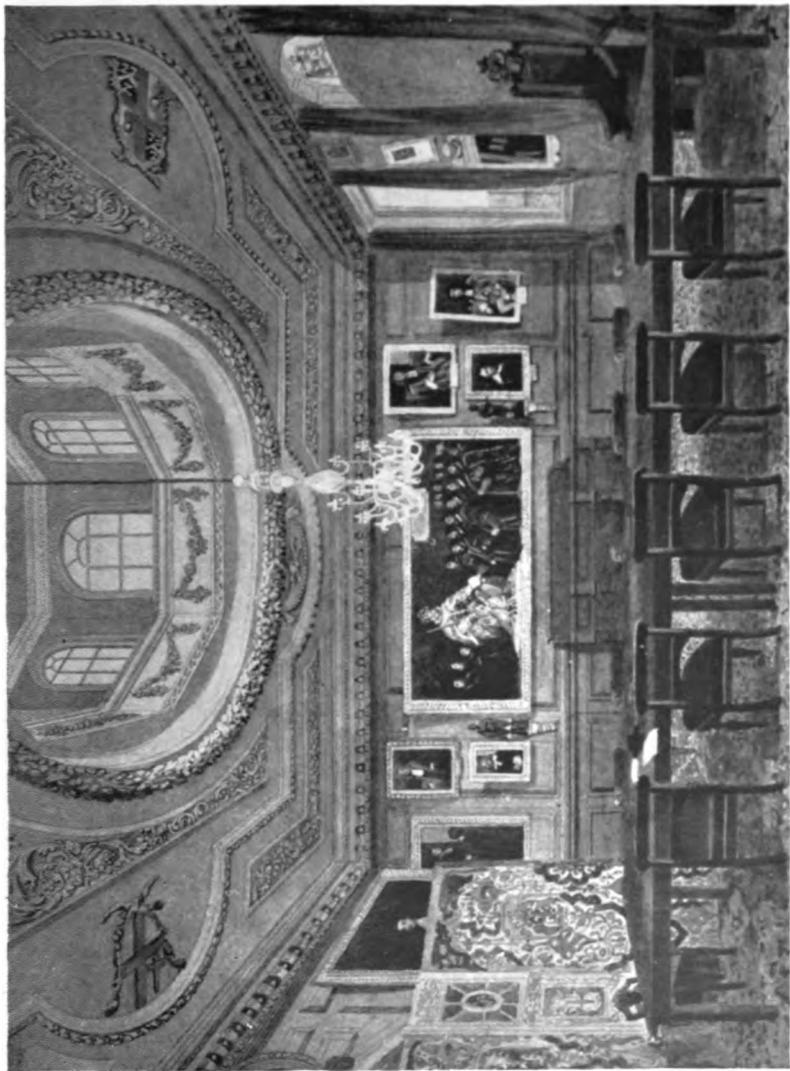
In Bread Street market the bakers from Bromley and Stratford-le-Bow were forced to sell their bread, as they were forbidden to sell it to citizens in their homes.

Bread Street has interesting literary associations—the poet Shelley was married to Mary Godwin in St. Mildred's, Bread Street in 1816; but a greater than Shelley first saw the light in this ancient thoroughfare. John Milton was born at the sign of the Spread Eagle, the armorial ensign of his family, in 1608. He was the son of a scrivener, and was baptised in the old church of All Hallows at the corner of Bread Street and Watling Street.

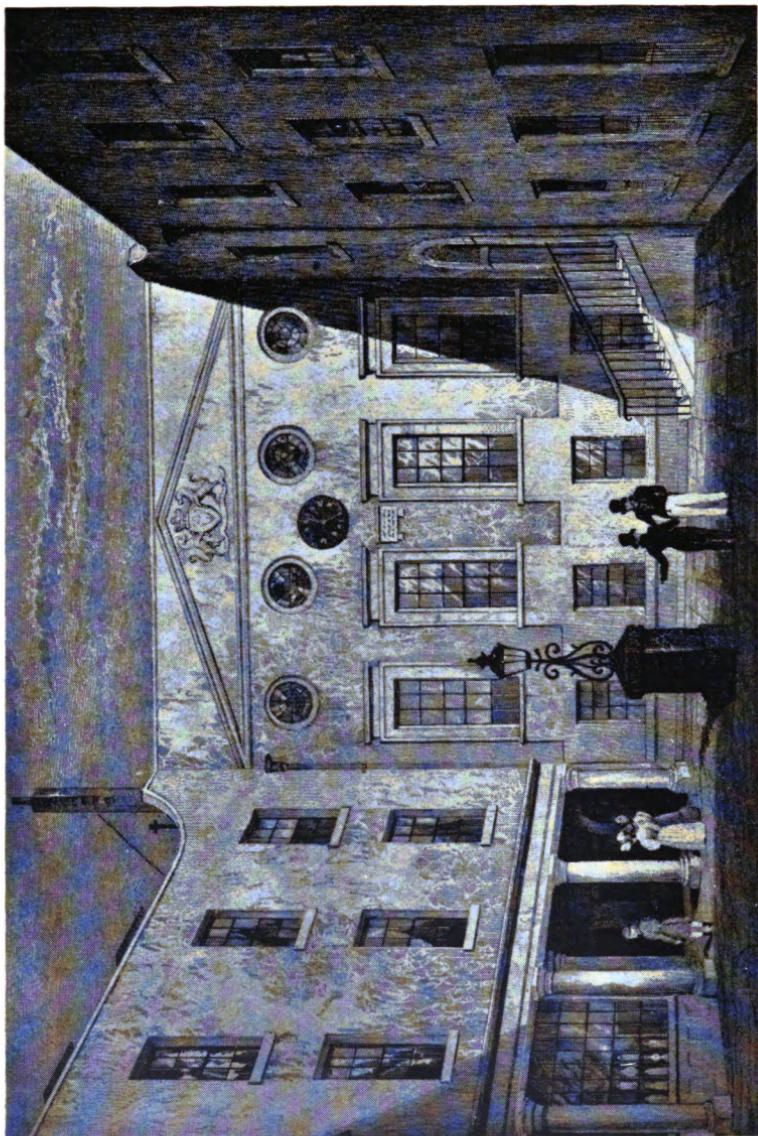
On the outer wall of the old church was inscribed Dryden's famous eulogy of Milton :

“ Three Poets in three distant ages born,
Greece, Italy, and England did adorn;
The First in Loftiness of Thought surpast,
The Next in Majesty—in both the Last;
The Force of Nature could no further go:
To make a Third she joined the former Two.”

By kind permission of Messrs. Raphael Tuck & Sons Ltd.
BARTLETT'S STREETS' HALL, 1861



Face page 88



[By kind permission of Messrs. Raphael Tuck & Sons, Ltd.

APOTHECARIES' HALL, 1831

From an old print.

Face page 89]

When the old church was pulled down in 1877 the inscription was transferred to the outer wall of St. Mary-le-Bow, Cheapside.

Bread Street once contained a Compter, or Debtors' prison, but one of its glories in the seventeenth century must have been Gerrards' Hall, the great mansion of the Gisors family, which was destroyed in the Great Fire.

The ward contains Cordwainers' Hall, a modern building occupying a site which has been in the possession of the ancient Guild of Cordwainers since the fourteenth century. The alderman of the ward, Lord Wakefield, is a Past Master of this ancient Company.

It is curious that this bakers' and fish-sellers' quarter should have developed as part of the headquarters of the British textile industry.

BRIDGE

The ward of Bridge Within is a small but historic area which will be best considered under the heading of London's Bridges.

BROAD STREET

This ward shares with Langbourn the honour of being the home of the banking and the finance centre of the City. Within its borders are not only the Bank of England, but the Stock Exchange. The ward also contains the homes of two of the great Livery Companies, the fourteenth-century Hall of the Merchant Taylors and the modern mansion of the Drapers' Company.

Drapers' Hall was formerly graced by a fine garden, which was sacrificed in 1876 to make Throgmorton Avenue, which leads to the House of an important Livery Company, the Carpenters, a progressive and prosperous Guild, minor only in name.

CANDLEWICK

This small ward is traversed by the two great arteries of Cannon Street and King William Street, so that most of the traffic over London Bridge passes through its boundaries. Many of its old houses have been replaced by splendid modern buildings, but if we turn off its two main thoroughfares we find ourselves in streets which do not share the bustling character of neighbouring wards, and constitute centres of commercial enterprise still conducted in the quiet, dignified atmosphere of former days.

One of its quiet lanes leads to the raised churchyard of St. Laurence Pountney, a little backwater between Laurence Pountney Lane and Laurence Pountney Hill.

The parish of St. Laurence Pountney is mentioned by Shakespeare in *Henry VIII*, with reference to the Manor of the Rose which belonged to the Dukes of Suffolk.

The parish was called after a fourteenth-century Lord Mayor, and joined to St. Mary Abchurch when its church was destroyed in the Great Fire.

CASTLE BAYNARD

The ancient feudal mansion which stood in this ward up till the Great Fire loomed larger in the medieval mind than even a great church, and gave the ward its name. This is curious, as the Cathedral of St. Paul, extensive as it is to-day, must have been even a more dominant feature of the neighbourhood than the great castle founded by Ralph Baynard, a follower of William the Conqueror, and occupied by such men as Duke Humphrey, Edward IV, and Richard III.

The ward prior to 1871 was full of winding lanes, but in 1871 many of these old streets were swept away by the

construction of Queen Victoria Street, the longest and widest thoroughfare in the City. Notwithstanding this big town-planning improvement, the ward contains many relics of Stuart days, including the College of Arms, built on the site of the old town mansion of the Earls of Derby which was granted to Garter King-at-Arms and his brother heralds in 1555.

CHEAP

The Chepe was the original market-place of London, but the handsome street which is now called Cheapside extends far beyond the borders of the ward which obtained its name from the emporium of medieval London.

In olden days the shops displayed different wares from their modern successors: for instance, the eastern end was the resort of the poulters, and on this account is still called the Poultry. The other side of the street was formerly associated with the sale of honey, and a little backwater is still called Honey Lane Market.

The two premier Livery Companies have their homes in the ward of Cheap—the Mercers and the Grocers.

The ward has literary associations, as Tom Hood was born in the Poultry over a bookshop shared by his father with a man named Vernon.

King Street, which leads from Cheapside to Guildhall Yard, was so called after the Merry Monarch. Queen Street was formerly Soper Lane, and originally the home of the Pepperers, an ancient fraternity which developed into the great Company of Grocers. The little street known as Bucklersbury is referred to in *The Merry Wives of Windsor*. The street obtained its name from the home of the Bukerel family, one of whom, Andrew Bukerel, was Sheriff in 1130, and in Elizabethan days was fragrant with the shops of sellers of spices, drugs and perfumes. These establishments must have smelt like the modern chemist's shop, as Shake-

speare makes Falstaff in his flirtation with Mrs. Ford refer contemptuously to those "leaping hawthorn buds that come like women in men's attire and smell like Bucklersbury in simple time."

COLEMAN STREET

This ward includes the important modern thoroughfare of Moorgate, and is said by Riley to derive its name from the fact that it was the original home of the charcoal sellers, or "coalmen." Probably on account of the proximity of the fuel sellers the founders had their home in Lothbury, which is also partly in the ward.

The charcoal makers and founders were not very pleasant neighbours in the days when fires were dreaded, so it is not surprising to find Old Jewry in the ward.

Indeed the former occupants of the ward were not so desirable as they are to-day, as "Bedlam" once occupied what is now Finsbury Circus. The garden in the Circus is all that remains of the old Royal Hospital, which was constructed on the plan of the Tuileries, a fact which is said to have given great offence to the Grand Monarque, who is reputed to have retaliated by using the plan of St. James's Palace for far worse purposes than a home for the insane.

The treatment of the patients in the old building was barbarous, as in the eighteenth century it was customary to allow the public to see the lunatics chained to the walls!

CORDWAINER

Cordwainer is another ward which obtained its name from the trade carried on within its borders. It was the

ancient home of the shoemakers, and prior to the last century largely a collection of winding lanes, many of which have given way to Queen Victoria Street.

The ward may be regarded as the capital of Cockaigne, as it contains the famous church of St. Mary-le-Bow, from whose belfry chime the Bow Bells. No one born beyond the reach of the sound of these old bells can rightly claim to be a Cockney, but some people have remarkably acute hearing!

"Bow Church" is so called from the form of the arches in the crypt, which gave its name to the Court of Arches, the Court of Appeal of the See of Canterbury, which was formerly held at the church. The original shrine was of great antiquity; it was destroyed in the Great Fire but rebuilt by Sir Christopher Wren. Its tall steeple is regarded by some authorities as the finest Renaissance bell-tower in the world.

Fronting on to Queen Victoria Street is another interesting Wren Church with the queer title of St. Mary Aldermury. The suffix "Aldermury" is believed to indicate that the church is the oldest shrine in the City dedicated to the Blessed Virgin.

CORNHILL

This ward contains part of the Royal Exchange, and shares with Lombard Street the honour of housing many great banks, but to the ordinary citizen is perhaps more famous for its old places of refreshment than for its great commercial activities.

Change Alley contained two very famous establishments—Jonathan's Coffee House, the birthplace of the Stock Exchange, and "Garraway's," where tea was first retailed in London at from sixteen to fifty shillings a pound.

Cornhill itself presented until 1927 a remarkable survival of one of London's old eating houses—Birch's. The shop

dated from the time of George I, when it was founded by a Mr. Horton, after whom came Lucas Birch, whose son and successor, Samuel Birch, became an alderman and was Lord Mayor in 1814-1815.

Miss Balfour thought the Little Green Shop worthy of one of her delightful songs of the City. She sings,

“ O what of the ghosts that have thronged it in hosts,
 The ghosts that may throng it no more?
 The shadows made merry by shadowy sherry,
 Just there—through the Little Green Door:
 For the wraith of old Birch will be left in the lurch
 Now his ovens are empty and chill:
 And Horton will wander disconsolate yonder,
 Where once stood his Shop on Cornhill.”

Birch was a great character and a keen citizen soldier. He was a Colonel in the City Militia, but good-humoured enough not to resent the nickname of “Field Marshal Tureen.” He was not only the first purveyor of turtle soup, but the writer of plays that held the stage and books that were readable. One of his plays, *The Adopted Child*, was popular long after he had killed his last turtle.

The business passed into the hands of the famous firm of City caterers, Ring and Brymer, and a replica of the old shop-front, which has been presented to the South Kensington Museum, fronts their modern premises in Old Broad Street.

Miss Balfour has immortalized Sir Samuel Birch in her song for Lord Mayor’s Day:

Our Mayors have been eager in senate or leaguer
 But even the bravest for sustenance look:
 So, comrades and brothers, this day of all others,
 We’ll drink to the Mayor who excelled as a cook.
 We worship old Magog, our homage we pay Gog,
 But giants as great you may find if you search—
 For who are sublimer than dear Ring and Brymer,

The worthy successors of Horton and Birch!
Marshal Tureen, our Marshal Tureen,
Here's to the health of our Marshal Tureen:
Lord Mayor of London is eighteen-fourteen—
Come drink, with no heeltaps, to Marshal Tureen!

THE CRIPPLEGATES

Cripplegate was so called, says Maitland, "from the cripples who begged there," a derivation more probable than that given by Ben Jonson in *Every Man out of his Humour*, where he uses the simile,

"as lame
as Vulcan, or the founder of Cripplegate."

Mr. Denton, however, disputes both derivations, and says that the name is derived from the words "crepel gate" which signifies a covered way into a fortification.

The Ward is unique in many respects among the other wards of the City. It is the only ward divided into two, each having separate representatives in the Common Council, each elected by an entirely different body of electors, both, however, being presided over by one alderman, in the election of whom the whole ward (or two wards) takes part. This arrangement did not always obtain, as we find by the Corporation Records, that until the year 1569, the ward was undivided, but in that year a separate election was ordered for the *portion within and for that part without the walls*, which order has been carried out to the present day.

Wood Street, the home of the hosiery trade, is the principal thoroughfare of the ward, if we except part of Gresham Street, a thoroughfare which has borne various names at various periods. The portion of Gresham Street in Cripplegate Within was formerly known as Maiden Lane, and contains most of Haberdashers' Hall and the whole of Wax-Chandlers' Hall.

Silver Street holds the interesting old home of the Parish Clerks, and Addle Street the delightful Stuart mansion which houses the Brewers' Company. Cripplegate Without has interesting literary associations, as we shall see.

Milton Street was formerly Grub Street, the scene of the struggles against starvation of so many men of letters. Appropriately enough, a ward so rich in old literary associations was endowed by former residents with very considerable funds for educational purposes. Towards the end of the last century these funds were devoted to the foundation of the Cripplegate Institute, which carries out on modern lines the pious aims of ancient benefactors of the Ward and houses the only theatre in the City licensed by the Lord Chamberlain.

DOWGATE

A large part of this ward is occupied by Cannon Street Station. This great terminus covers the site of the famous Steelyard which was the home of the German merchants who had settled in London. Their history is a reminder that the invasion of London by foreigners is a matter of very ancient origin. Until 1875 Merchant Taylors' School stood in Suffolk Lane, occupying part of the site of the town mansion of the Dukes of Suffolk. Before the railway invasion Dowgate Hill must have been a very pleasant spot, as no less than five Livery Halls have congregated on or near it. On the Hill stand Skinners', Dyers' and Tallow Chandlers' Halls, and in College Street the charming Hall of the Innholders' Company. Near by in Lower Thames Street a fifth fraternity, the Joiners, had their ancient home, the site of which still belongs to the Company.

THE FARRINGDONS

The two great wards of Farringdon Within and Without include nearly a fourth of the whole area of the City. The

ward Within is very scattered, and stretches from the Thames at Blackfriars to Monkwell Street on the borders of Cripplegate. The riverside portion includes the site of the great monastery of the Black Friars, and the area which is called Blackfriars is fragrant with memories of the early days of British drama, and famous for its association with the foundations of British journalism. On the site of the old home of the Preaching Friars stands the great works and offices of *The Times* newspaper, and near by Shakespeare owned a house in Ireland Yard. He acted in the little theatre which once stood in what is still Playhouse Yard.

The ward houses the beautiful Hall of the Society of Apothecaries and, as we shall see, their old rivals, the Royal College of Physicians, once occupied Farringdon Within, first at Amen Corner and until the last century in Warwick Lane. The ward is indeed the portion of the City which constitutes the birthplace of British medicine, as in addition to these two medical societies it contains the interesting Hall of the Barbers' Company, of which the Royal College of Surgeons is but a modern offshoot.

Barbers' Hall was built in 1634 from designs of Inigo Jones, and part of it stands on the Roman wall.

In the ward, too, is the Cutlers' Company, which has played an active part in fostering the medical part of its ancient craft. The ordinary cutlery trade has flown from London to Sheffield, but thanks very largely to the Cutlers' Company, London remains the most important centre for the manufacture of surgical instruments.

Formerly the ward contained two of the City Gates—New Gate and Lud Gate. The latter spanned Ludgate Hill right up to 1760.

Most of the General Post Office is in the ward, and besides covering the site of the old Liberty of the canons of St. Martin-le-Grand, this institution has been built over another monastery—the House of the Grey Friars, which became

in the sixteenth century Christ's Hospital, better known as the Blue Coat School.

Paternoster Row gives the ward great literary interests, although it has lost much of its importance as a publishing centre.

To find great drapery firms flourishing where books were sold may not be pleasing to the sentimentalist, but it is not the new feature that might be supposed, for Pepys tells us that in 1662 he came here with some ladies to buy a satin petticoat, and four years later to purchase velvet and camelot for a cloak.

Panyer Alley, leading from Paternoster Row to Newgate Street, meritiously claims for the Ward the distinction of possessing the highest point in the City. Into one of the houses is inserted a stone bas-relief of a boy sitting astride a baker's basket or pannier. The stone bears the inscription:

When ye have sought the City round
Yet still this is the highest ground.

August the 27
1688.

Farringdon Without is by far the largest ward in the City. It would require a library rather than a section of a chapter to even outline the manifold interests of this great "aldermanry." Here are the Temple and Clifford's Inn, which I have already attempted to describe in my book *Wig and Gown*, and here is Fleet Street, which has inspired many an author to relate its glories.

Here is Gough Square, with the carefully preserved residence of Dr. Johnson, and a score of old courts and alleys which recall literary giants of long ago.

Here stood Temple Bar, and here still stands "The Griffin" which marks its historic site.

The ward contains one of the finest Courts of Justice, *the greatest hospital, the greatest markets in the Empire,*

and in addition the remains of two ancient monasteries, the Temple, the former home of the Order of the Temple, and St. Bartholomew the Great, which enshrines the relics of an Augustinian Priory of Norman times.

Within the ward boundaries were at one time three prisons, Newgate, the Fleet, and Bridewell.

There is hardly an aspect of life which is not included in the wards which bear the name of Farringdon.

Lord Mayor Treloar, the former Alderman of Farringdon Without, was fond of saying that he represented the World, the Flesh, and the Devil.

The world was represented by Fleet Street, the flesh by the markets, and the Devil by the lawyers.

The distinguished philanthropist and Freemason, Sir Kynaston Studd, who now wears its aldermanic gown, might prefer to say that he represents the three great Christian virtues—Faith, Hope and Charity. Faith is represented by the ward's great religious foundations, Hope by its important educational institutions, and Charity by the great hospital of St. Bartholomew. All these interests are more ancient than Lord Mayor Treloar's "world"—the newspaper industry, which did not start in Fleet Street until the last century.

LANGBOURN

This important province bestrides Gracechurch Street and includes Fenchurch Street and Lombard Street. It takes its name, says Stow, from "a long bourne of sweet water, which in old time breaking out into Fenchurch Street, ran down the same street and Lombard Street, to the west end of St. Mary Woolnoth's Church, where, turning south, and breaking into small shares, rills, or streams, it left the name of Sharebourne Lane, or Southbourne Lane, as I have read, because it ran south to the Thames."

Lombard Street is an ancient thoroughfare which reminds

us of the Lombards, merchants from Genoa, Florence and Venice, who were the first bankers of London.

To-day the street contains the headquarters of many great firms, and owing to the survival of some of the signs which were restored to celebrate the Coronation of King Edward VII, presents a suggestion of its medieval character.

Fenchurch Street probably took that name from the fact that the vicinity was rendered fenny or marshy by the waters of the Langbourne, but Stow admits that others thought that it derived its name from foenum or hay sold at a market in the neighbourhood. The Street gave its name to St. Gabriel Fenchurch, of which the graveyard survives in Fen Court.

LIME STREET

A ward which was at one time the home of the East India Company, and is still the centre of Marine insurance, and of an important market, has no lack of historic or commercial interest, although its associations with the useful commodity, lime, which gave the district its name, has long since passed away.

Lloyds' and Leadenhall Market will be referred to elsewhere, and it is only necessary to recall that Lime Street Ward is fragrant with memories of Charles Lamb. Has not the gentle Elia told us, "my printed works were my recreations; my true works may be found on the shelves in Leadenhall Street, filling some hundred folio"?

He refers, of course, to his labours in East India House.

PORTSOKEN

The ward of Porsoken has imperishable associations with the birth of the ancient Guilds. Here flourished the

Guild of Knights who were succeeded by a Priory of the Holy Trinity.

In addition to the Priory there was a convent of Little Sisters of St. Clare, or *Sorores Minores*, whose name is recalled in The Minories. The site of the nunnery was marked by the Church of the Holy Trinity, Minories, which was converted into a Vestry Hall at the end of the last century.

These Christian settlements have been succeeded by a Jewish invasion, and the aldermanry which was a prerogative of the Prior of Holy Trinity in olden times is now usually held by a gentleman of the more ancient faith.

Houndsditch marks the site of part of the ditch which surrounded the Roman wall. The street was formerly the stronghold of the wardrobe dealer, and is mentioned by Shakespeare in this relation. It now contains several fine buildings and is the centre of the Jewish business quarter. There is a church dedicated to the popular English saint, St. Botolph, at either end, and the churchyard of St. Botolph, Bishopsgate, at its western end, has been converted into one of the popular open spaces referred to in a later chapter.

The Sir John Cass school was originally in this thoroughfare, but has migrated to Aldgate Ward, a compensation for the fact that the church, street, and railway station with the name of Aldgate are in Portsoken.

The ward contained a number of small residential houses and shops which have been largely swept away in a comprehensive scheme for re-housing in modern buildings carried out by the Corporation. Only those who know the neighbourhood will recognise in decorous Middlesex Street "Petticoat Lane" of evil memory. It was said that your handkerchief would be stolen out of your pocket at one end of the Lane and sold back to you at the other! It still takes on a lively character on Sunday mornings, and provides

a great market for the delicacies so beloved by our fellow-citizens of the Hebrew faith.

QUEENHITHE

A ward which owes its name to the fact that it formed part of the estates of the wife of a Norman king has naturally an historic past. Its shores formed an important part of the ancient port of London, and have been associated with a variety of imports, including fish, timber and sugar. At one time the sole sugar refinery in England was located in the ward, and Sugar Loaf Court reminds us of this former activity. In Little Trinity Lane, one of the many narrow streets with which the district abounds, stands the charming Jacobean Hall of the Painter Stainers. It houses a valuable collection of pictures, many of which were presented by the artists who painted them. Nearly opposite to this old Hall are the new warehouses of the Hudson's Bay Company, who have introduced the fur trade into the district; but notwithstanding this innovation the ward is still chiefly identified with the iron and steel industry.

TOWER

The name of this Ward is misleading, as it does not include the Tower of London. Outside the City's boundary stands the ancient fortress of which Gilbert has written,

The screw may twist and the rack may turn,
And men may bleed and men may burn;
O'er London town, and its golden hoard,
I keep my silent watch and ward.

The Tower was built by Norman William, not only to watch over London's "golden hoard," but to remind them that they had another Sovereign beside their Mayor.

The riverside has been occupied by the Custom House since the days of Chaucer, who was a "farmer" of the customs, in addition to being a poet.

Great Tower Street almost bisects the Ward and divides its great business interests.

On the north side of this thoroughfare are Mark Lane and Mincing Lane, the former the site of the Corn Exchange and the latter the great centre for the tea trade. Mincing Lane houses the fine modern Hall of the Clothworkers' Company. The senior of the two united fraternities, the Shearmen and the Fullers, who constitute this great and wealthy Guild, has been on this site since the fifteenth century.

On the south side of Great Tower Street lie a number of lanes running down to the riverside, which have been associated with much of our island story, whilst the names of the wharves they lead to recall the various industries with which the Ward residents were formerly associated. Seething Lane was once the home of the Navy Office, which recalls memories of Pepys and Nelson. The offices of the Port of London Authority quite appropriately now cover the site.

Bakers' Hall is in Harp Lane, not far from Pudding Lane, where the Fire of London started in a baker's shop; and in Water Lane is Old Trinity House, formerly occupied by the Brethren who look after the lighting of the British coasts.

Notwithstanding the existence of Brewers' Quay close by Beer Lane, this little street has nothing to do with the brewing industry. The word "beer" signifies "bere," or "bear," as this locality was favoured by the gentry who looked after the unfortunate animals used in the good old English "sport" of bear-baiting.

If the Ward has nothing to do with beer it has a great deal to do with a more delectable beverage. It is now the home of the wine trade, and a large number of the best

known shippers have their offices between Tower Street and the Thames.

VINTRY

For centuries the wine trade of London was centred in this Ward, but, as I have already indicated, the trade has migrated down the river to Tower Ward. The merchants of Bordeaux settled in London as far back as Norman times, and some of them built a house called Tour De La Reole, which became a royal palace. The house existed in Stow's time, but had fallen from its high estate even then, and was used as stabling for the King's horses. The house has long disappeared, but its name persists in a corrupted form as Tower Royal, a narrow street leading off Canon Street. The ward has two very interesting historical associations. It is the reputed birthplace of Geoffrey Chaucer, the father of English literature, and contains the burial-place of Dick Whittington.

Chaucer's father was a vintner in the Ward, and Whittington lived in the Vintry, was buried in the church of St. Michael Paternoster Royal, and founded almshouses which remained in the Ward till early in the last century.

Appropriately enough, the Hall of the ancient Company of Vintners occupies a prominent place in the Ward. It stands on the site of a great house where Sir Henry Picard entertained five Kings.

Among them were King Edward III, King John of France, King David of Scotland, the King of Cyprus, and the Black Prince. After the banquet they gambled, the Lord Mayor defending the bank against all comers with dice and hazard. The King of Cyprus lost his money, and, unfortunately, his royal temper as well.

"Then up spake Sir Henry, with admonition in his voice : Did his Highness of Cyprus really believe that the Lord Mayor, a merchant adventurer of London, whose ships



[Photo: Humphrey and Vera Joel.

THE MODERN CITY: CONCRETE COLUMNS IN LIME STREET

[Face page 104]



A LORD MAYOR AND THE COMMON COUNCILMEN OF HIS WARD : SIR KYNASTON STUDD, BART., AND THE
REPRESENTATIVES OF HARRINGDON WITHOUT

rode at anchor in the Cyprian King's port of Famagusta, should seek to win the money of him or of any other king? 'My Lord and King,' he said, 'be not aggrieved. I court not your gold, but your play; for I have not bidden you hither that you might grieve.' And so gave the king his money back. But John, King of France, and David, King of Scotland, and the Black Prince murmured and whispered that it was not fitting for a king to take back money lost at play. And the good old King Edward stroked his grey beard but refrained from words."

Besant thought that it was in this Ward that Whittington entertained Henry of Agincourt and Katherine his bride, with a magnificence which astonished the king. "But Whittington knew what he was doing; the banquet was not ostentation and display; its cost was far more than repaid by the respect for the wealth and power of the City which it nourished and maintained in the kingly mind. The memory of this and other such feasts, we may be very sure, had its after effect even upon those most masterful of sovereigns Henry VIII and Queen Bess."

WALBROOK

Last, but by no means least in our list of Wards, stands Walbrook, which enjoys the distinction of enclosing the Mansion House. The brook, from which the district takes its name, divided the Roman City into approximately two equal parts, and was one of the principal sources of the water supply up till the thirteenth century.

This ancient stream arose in the open country to the north, and flowed through culverts in the Roman wall to enter the Thames at Dowgate.

Like the Fleet River, it must at an early date have become little better than a sewer, and, similarly to the larger stream, its outlet became a tidal creek. The little brook still flows underground.

Walbrook contains one of the most interesting relics of bygone centuries to be found anywhere in England—London Stone. “This stone formerly stood on the south side of Cannon Street, and was fastened to the ground with strong clamps of iron.” It was moved in 1742 to the north side of the street as it “had become an annoyance and dangerous to passengers.” In 1798 it was again moved and enclosed in a recess in the outer wall of St. Swithin’s Church.

“In 1864 a letter was written to the press calling the attention of the Churchwardens to the fact that portions of the stone were being gradually chipped away. Nothing was done to prevent this wilful mischief until 1869, when the Stone was examined and found to measure about a foot cube, and to be an oolite full of organic remains. The Romans used such stone extensively in their buildings, their coffins and monuments. Similar stone is, or was, obtained from the quarries of Rutland and Northampton. After examination the venerable relic was carefully replaced in its old receptacle, the opening of which was protected by the present ornamental iron grille.”

This stone has been the subject of much controversy amongst antiquarians. Its Roman origin has been generally accepted, and Sir Laurence Gomme says it has “always been a remarkable centre of rites, ceremonies and traditions, which show it to have been held in reverence through the centuries. It stood on the western extremity of the first Roman London, which may perhaps point to it as one of the stone sides of the gateway which led to the Pomaerium;” and in the name of the adjoining parish—Pomroy—he fancies there may be preserved the word for this sacred Roman institution.

Others, including the learned Camden, have regarded the stone as merely a central milestone for the Roman roads; but Shakespeare regarded it as a sort of coronation

stone, as in *Henry the Sixth* (Second Part) he makes Jack Cade say :

"Now is Mortimer lord of this city! And here, sitting upon London Stone, I charge and command that, of the city's cost, the pissing-conduit run nothing but claret wine this first year of our reign. And now henceforward it shall be treason for any one that calls me other than Lord Mortimer."

There it stands in Cannon Street, and perhaps these lines may lead passers-by to regard it with a little more interest.

Such are the little provinces into which the Lord Mayor's kingdom is divided. Each is brimful of historical, literary and trading associations, and each has managed to preserve to this day some outstanding commercial activity. Their Aldermen and Common Councilmen may well feel proud of representing these historic areas in the most active and progressive of the ancient institutions of England —the Corporation of London.

CHAPTER VIII

STORIED STREETS

O Reader! had you in your mind
Such stores as silent thought can bring,
O gentle reader! you would find
A tale in everything.

WORDSWORTH.

It is impossible to walk about the City of London without feeling that each turning has a tale to tell if we could only hear the silent voices of its sacred shrines, quaint old churchyards, curious monuments and ancient buildings of every kind.

But to those who have fallen under its spell the lure of London lies perhaps more in the streets themselves than in the buildings, fascinating as their history may be.

I have already referred to several streets in the chapter on the Wards; there are many which deserve some special mention, but we have only space for a few.

To approach the City from the westward we must pass by Fleet Street or Holborn. If, like Dr. Johnson, we take a walk down Fleet Street, we find ourselves descending into the valley of the Fleet river, which flowed down Farringdon Street and past Seacoal Lane across what is now Ludgate Circus, and down New Bridge Street. The little river was at one time covered with ships carrying merchandise and passengers, but now runs imprisoned underground to enter the Thames near Blackfriars Bridge. On our right was formerly the Palace of Bridewell, occupied by Henry VIII after the Palace at Westminster was burned

and before the Palace of Whitehall had been taken from Cardinal Wolsey.

The site of Bridewell was taken on lease from the Knights of St. John, who inherited it from the proud Templars whose great monastery stood nearby.

Here at intervals lived Henry with Katherine of Arragon for eight years, and here after he ceased to occupy it were housed great ambassadors who were painted in their quarters by Hans Holbein himself.

When, after the Reformation, the City Fathers were taking on the heavy duty of caring for the flotsam and jetsam of Tudor London, the old palace was given to them "as a House of Correction and Occupations for vagrants, beggars and immoral women."

The old palace became later on a prison but, as we shall see, gave birth in the last century to a great school.

On the other bank of the Fleet stood the noble convent of the Black Friars. A City Guild and a newspaper occupy most of the ancient site.

Crossing Ludgate Circus we are reminded that London stands on two hills, and that one is crowned by the City's great cathedral. Round the cathedral are streets which remind us of the old world Corpus Christi processions which passed round the cathedral, leaving behind them the names of their chants, the Pater Noster, the Ave Maria and the Creed.

Nearby too, is Pilgrim Street, where the pilgrims assembled for the popular pilgrimage to Canterbury.

Passing through the Churchyard we enter Cannon Street, but this western portion of the thoroughfare only dates from the middle of the last century. Old Cannon Street, formerly known as Canwicke or Candlewick Street, only commences opposite the railway station. Its eastern end is also modern, as it was constructed in 1831 to open the approaches to new London Bridge.

It ends in Eastcheap, the old eastern market of the citizens, and is continued right up to the ancient Norman fortress by Great Tower Street.

Space will hardly permit us to take the visitor along Holborn over the great viaduct to Newgate Street and along Cheapside to the Bank, where he has the choice of proceeding by Threadneedle Street, Cornhill or Lombard Street to Gracechurch Street and thence to Bishopsgate.

From the north he can return by Moorgate, Cripplegate or Aldersgate to Cheapside, and thence by many ancient thoroughfares to Thames Street and the river bank, or by Queen Victoria Street to Blackfriars Bridge and the Embankment. If his business takes him further west he can follow an even more direct route down Farringdon Street to Blackfriars, and if he turns aside into Smithfield he can reach Ludgate Hill once more by Giltspur Street and the Old Bailey.

He will be struck by the fact that the names of the City streets reflect the independent character of the citizens.

There are few references to Kings and Queens.

There were, it is true, a Queen's Head Passage and a King's Head Court, and, of course, King's Bench Walk; but prior to the last century there was only one King and one Queen Street.

The visitor must not be misled by King Edward Street which runs north to Little Britain from Newgate Street. "It looks civic and settled," says J. W. Jeffries, "but if the truth be told, it was not a street at all eighty or so years ago, but just plain Butcher Hall Lane. True, it had been a street before that, but what a street—Blowbladder Street! And before that again it was Chick Lane, and it appears to have begun life, I much regret to say, as Stinking Lane." In one particular this amusing description is not quite correct, for Blowbladder Street is represented to-day by the eastern end of Newgate Street.

Of great families only the Bunkerels and the Basings have

given their names to streets, and even great citizens were scantily honoured. Gresham had no street called after him till 1845, and Whittington Avenue is a thing of yesterday.

Our ancient City Fathers were practical folk and marshalled their tradesmen according to their callings, hence we have streets called after the staple articles of diet—milk, bread, poultry and honey. Honey, by the way, can hardly be called a staple article of diet to-day, but in medieval times it was a very important article, as sugar was not introduced into England until after the Crusades. Friday Street recalls the fasts of the older faith, and was the resort of the merchants who sold the more saintly fare. Ironmonger Lane was the resort of workers in iron, Candlewick of the candle-makers, and so on.

There are still many trees in the City, and several streets have taken their names from former forest giants—for instance, Beech Lane, Fig Tree Court, and Ashen Tree Court. Most of the City trees to-day are planes, and at the entrance to Wood Street stands a beautiful specimen, marking the churchyard of St Peter in Chepe, which was destroyed in the Fire. The terms of the lease of neighbouring houses are said to forbid the destruction of the tree or the building of additional storeys which may injure it.

The sight of this tree, with its suggestion of the country in a crowded thoroughfare, inspired Wordsworth to write his ballad of poor Susan:

“ At the corner of Wood Street, when daylight appears,
Hangs a Thrush that sings loud, it has sung for three years:
Poor Susan has passed by the spot, and has heard
In the silence of morning the song of the Bird.

‘Tis a note of enchantment; what ails her? She sees
A mountain ascending, a vision of trees;
Bright volumes of vapour through Lothbury glide,
And a river flows on through the vale of Cheapside.”

Less conspicuous but quite as fine a tree, is the great plane which spreads its lofty branches over the old church-yard of St. Michael Bassishaw in Basinghall Street.

Churches frequently gave their names to streets, notably Gracechurch Street, which is called after the "Grasse Church" which stood by an ancient herb market.

Taverns, on the other hand, gave their names to little courts and narrow passages, as the old innkeepers of London seemed to prefer nooks and crannies for their establishments. Examples of such places are Red Bull Yard, Red Lion Passage, and Three Kings Court.

The streets of London before the Fire were very narrow, the houses were built of wood, and their upper storeys projected over the others. There was little sanitation in the modern sense, and rubbish, in spite of City ordinances, was shot in the streets and left to rot and decay.

The Great Fire, though it caused such devastation and terrible loss, is generally held to have been a blessing in disguise. It certainly had the effect of destroying the plague-infected rats and putting an end to that terrible pestilence for good and all.

It is a curious fact that during the Plague the City Fathers had some glimmering of what modern science has taught, namely that plague is carried by rats. Besant, writing before this modern discovery, tells us that "it was thought that dogs and rats carried infection. All those in the City were slaughtered. They even tried, for the same reason, to poison the rats and mice, but apparently failed."

The Fire did more, for the ruins and ashes filled up the wells which had been dug almost side by side with cess-pools and were grossly fouled.

The new houses were built of stone and brick, and if beauty was sacrificed the ever-present dread of fire was stayed.

Enthusiasm has carried many writers too far over the result of the Fire.



(Photo : Humphrey and Vera Joel
THE LOMBARD STREET SIGNS

[Face page 112]



[Photo : Humphrey and Vera Joel.

SUNDAY MORNING ON ST. ANDREW'S HILL

This road leads from Carter Lane to Queen Victoria Street passing the Church of St. Andrew-by-the-Wardrobe, rebuilt by Wren, 1692.

Face page 113]

The London which rose on its ashes was far from conforming to modern notions of a sanitary city.

A pamphlet published in 1754—nearly a century after the Fire—tells us the streets were not cleared except in certain thoroughfares. At the back of the Royal Exchange scandalous accumulations of filth were allowed to remain, and the posterns of the City gates were equally neglected and abused.

The rubbish shot into the streets was not cleared away. Cellar doors and windows were left open carelessly; stone steps projected from the houses far across the footpath. Where pavement had been put down it was suffered to become broken and ruinous and so left. Houses that had fallen down or been burned down were left unbuilt, an ugly hole in the line of the street.

Sheds for shops were placed against the walls of churches. At St. Ethelburga's these sheds later on became transformed into houses, and when the Common Council recently decided to remove these excrescences there was a storm of protest.

When houses were rebuilt they were pushed out into the streets. Live bullocks and mad dogs were a constant danger, and beggars and vagrants swarmed in every street.

The poet Gay confirms the picture painted by the pamphleteer in the following lines on Thames Street, taken from his *Trivia*:

"O who that rugged street would traverse o'er,
That stretches, O Fleet Ditch, from thy black shore
To the Tow'r's moated walls? Here steams ascend
That, in mixed fumes, the wrinkled nose offend.
Where chandler's cauldrons boil; where fishy prey
Hide the wet stall, long absent from the sea;
And where the cleaver chops the heifer's spoil,
And where huge hogsheads sweat with trainy oil;
Thy breathing nostril hold: but how shall I
Pass, where in piles Carnavian cheeses lie;
Cheese, that the table's closing rights denies,
And bids me with th' unwilling chaplain, rise?"

At this period the dangers of the streets were not confined to accumulations of filth, open cellars, live bullocks or even mad dogs, but were infested with prowling thieves and with dangerous bullies; no woman could go out after dark in the City without an escort of her father's apprentices or his men-servants. In 1744 the Lord Mayor complains that "confederacies of evil-disposed persons armed with bludgeons pistols, and cutlasses, infest lanes and private passages," and issue forth to rob and wound peaceful people. Further, that these gangs have defeated, wounded, and killed the officers of justice sent against them. As yet they had not arrived at the simple expedient of strengthening the police.

As for the dangers of venturing out after dark, they are summed up by Johnson:

"Prepare for death if here at night you roam,
And sign your will before you step from home.
Some fiery fop, with new commission vain,
Who sleeps in brambles till he kills his man—
Some frolic drunkard reeling from a feast,
Provokes a broil and stabs you for a jest.
Yet even these heroes mischievously gay,
Lords of the street and terrors of the way,
Flushed as they are with folly, youth, and wine,
Their prudent insults to the poor confine:
Afar they mark the flambeau's bright approach,
And shun the shining train and golden coach."

Improvements came with the second quarter of the last century. Approaches had to be built to new London Bridge, and then came Queen Victoria Street and a whole host of innovations with the railways.

Indeed London City was practically rebuilt during the reign of the Great Queen. It is now traversed by fine thoroughfares lined by modern buildings, but if one leaves these arteries of traffic and turns down some of the side lanes he will find unexpected quiet and interesting relics

of the past. The very names of these little lanes are full of memories of bygone days. Angel Court, Dove Court, Honeysuckle Square, and Lilypot Lane, Harp Lane, Love Lane and Idol Lane must have been given to them by romantic-minded old citizens; whilst there must surely be grim associations with Gunpowder Court and Hanging Sword Alley. There was a Green Dragon Court, fragrant with memories of Goldsmith, until the last century, and there is still Green Arbour Court, but you will find no trees in it, any more than primroses on Primrose Hill, or yellow, white or purple flags in Fleur-de-lis Court or *roses* in either Rose Alley, Rose Court or Rose Street; but it is interesting to speculate how these little bye-ways obtained their poetic names. There is always a reason for each name if we only knew it—for instance, Ivy Lane derived its name from the ivy-covered houses of the Prebendaries of St. Paul's; there was once a King's Wardrobe in Wardrobe Court; puddings were made in Pudding Lane, and coal was landed and sold in Sea Coal Lane, and called "sea coal" because it came to London by sea and to distinguish it from the older fuel, charcoal, which used to come down the Fleet river from the forests to the north.

Distinctive name plates mark the City's streets to-day, but except for the tablet in Panyer Alley one searches in vain for the pictorial tablets which in ancient time enabled an illiterate people to distinguish the streets. Some are still preserved in the Guildhall Museum, and the antiquarian will not fail to be thankful to the Streets Committee of the Corporation which has marked the sites of many old buildings which once adorned the storied streets of London.

CHAPTER IX

DOMINE DIRIGE NOS

Lead me, O Lord—till perfect Day shall shine
Through Peace to Light.

ADELAIDE ANNE PROCTER.

"DOMINE dirige nos" was not always the City's motto. The first motto appears to have been "Me que te peperi ne cessa Thoma tueri" ("Cease not, Thomas, to guard me who brought thee forth"), as these words appeared on the reverse of the old Common Seal adopted in 1225 and destroyed in 1539. The Thomas referred to was Thomas à Becket, who was born in a house which occupied the site on which Mercers' Hall now stands. Henry VIII caused all images and pictures of the Archbishop and Martyr to be destroyed. Accordingly a new device was adopted: "Londini defende tuos Deus optime cives" ("Most Gracious God defend thy Citizens of London"). No instances of the use of these words other than on the Seal have been met with. In 1633 a new motto made its appearance—"Domine dirige nos" ("O Lord! direct us")—and this motto seems peculiarly appropriate as a profound religious spirit has always dominated the City of London. It is, however, hardly realized to-day the part played by the Church in the daily life of our forefathers in Plantagenet times. In those distant days religion ruled all. From the birth of the child to the death of the man, religion, the forms, duties, and obedience due to religion attended everyone. No one thought it possible that it could be otherwise. The freeing of mankind from the discipline of the Church, incomplete to the present day, had then hardly yet begun. All learning,

all science, all the arts, all the professions, were in the hands of the Church. It is very easy to congratulate ourselves upon the removal of these restrictions. "Yet," says Besant, "they were certainly a necessary part of human development. Order, love of law, respect for human life, education in the power of self-government, such material advance as prepared the way—all these things had to be taught. No one could teach them or enforce them but the priest, by the authority and in the wisdom of the Church. On the whole, he did his best. At the darkest time the Church was always a little in advance of the people; the Church, at the lowest, preserved some standard of morals, and of conduct; and even if the standard was low, why, it was higher than that of the laity."

When we visualize the Franciscans preaching to the people, the Carthusians cowering silent and gloomy in their cells, the Dominicans insisting on the letter of the Faith, kings and queens and great barons striving to secure burial in the holy soil of a monastery church—let us recognise that, out of this discipline emerged the Londoner of Queen Bess, eager for adventure and for enterprise: the Londoner who was so stout for liberty that he drove out one king and then another king, and set aside a dynasty for the sacred cause; the Londoner of our own time, who is no whit inferior to his forefathers.

This domination of the Church lasted from the twelfth to the sixteenth century, and the monk Fitzstephen tells us that in the reign of Henry II London had no less than one hundred and twenty-six parochial and thirteen conventional churches!

The splendour of London's monastic houses can only be guessed by the ruins of Tintern, Glastonbury and Whitby. Many possessed rich manors and broad lands and treasures bursting with gold, silver, and precious stones. The priests were everywhere and ruled everyone from the King on his throne to the beggar in the gutter.

And they thought—priests and people alike—that this state of things was going to last for ever. The end came suddenly, and, as Besant says in his dramatic way, if the London of the third Edward was a city of palaces, that of Queen Elizabeth was a city of ruins.

"Ruins everywhere! Ruins of cloisters, halls, dormitories, courts, and chapels, and churches. Ruins of carved altarpieces, canopies, statues, painted windows, and graven fonts. Ruins of old faiths and old traditions. Ruins everywhere." Let us consider what became of the monastic buildings. King Edward III's Cistercian House, called the New Abbey of Graces, or Eastminster, was pulled "clean down," and in its place storehouses for victuals and ovens for making ships' biscuits were set up. On the abbey grounds were erected small tenements for poor working people, the only inhabitants of that neighbourhood where is now the Mint.

Crutched Friars' Church was made into a carpenter's shop and a tennis court. The monks' refectory, a very noble hall, became a glass house, and was burned to the ground in the year 1575.

Monastic churches such as the Priory Church of the Order of St. John were blown up with gunpowder. Part of the Church of the Black Friars became a storehouse for the "properties" of pageants—strange fate for the house of the Dominicans, those austere upholders of doctrine. A playhouse was erected by Shakespeare and his friends among the ruins, which remained standing for a long time

Only the great Cathedral of St. Paul and the old parish churches survived the Reformation as places of worship, and the Great Fire swept most of these survivors away.

About a dozen pre-Fire churches remain, of which only two are Norman—the Temple Church and the Church of St. Bartholomew the Great in Smithfield.

Many of the monastic churches that survived were employed for secular purposes after the Reformation. I have

pointed out in my *Story of the Temple* how the Round of the Temple Church was a place of public resort, and the Choir was used as a Committee Room for the House of Commons. The Church of St. Bartholomew was still worse used. The Nave became a graveyard, a lace factory once occupied the Lady Chapel, and a forge worked in the North Transept.

I may mention in passing that in connection with this ancient fabric is a curious charity of which there are records as far back as 1600, but which was founded long before that year. It consists of giving sixpences to old women of the parish every Good Friday.

Twenty years ago the custom became almost extinct, but Mr. J. W. Butterworth, the well-known law publisher, provided sufficient money to bring in eleven shillings a year. From this fund twenty-one old ladies received sixpence each, and the remaining sixpence supplied hot-cross buns for the children who assembled to watch the ceremony, which consisted of picking up a sixpence from one of the gravestones and crossing the grave with it, to receive a bun from the hands of the Churchwarden. The late churchwarden, Mr. F. W. T. Hall, decided that old ladies of ninety, or even of seventy, were deserving of more than sixpence for this exercise. He added a shilling, and his friends joined him in augmenting the Fund so that the old dames nowadays retire from the ceremony the richer by a crown or even more.

During the short period between 1930 and 1932, thanks to the devoted labours of the Rector, Canon E. Sidney Savage, Sir Aston and Mr. E. A. Webb, Mr. Frederick Lionel Dove and other members of the Webb and Dove families, the ancient shrine founded by Rahere has been restored to much of its ancient splendour.

The damages caused by Zeppelin bombs and the devastating ravages of the Death Watch Beetle have been overcome. Electric light has been installed, a new organ, new

pulpit, and new screen gates have been added. The Tower and Transepts have been saved from calamitous collapse. The beautiful old Gate House which was condemned as a dangerous structure in 1930 has been conserved and restored, and the churchyard converted into a pleasing open space.

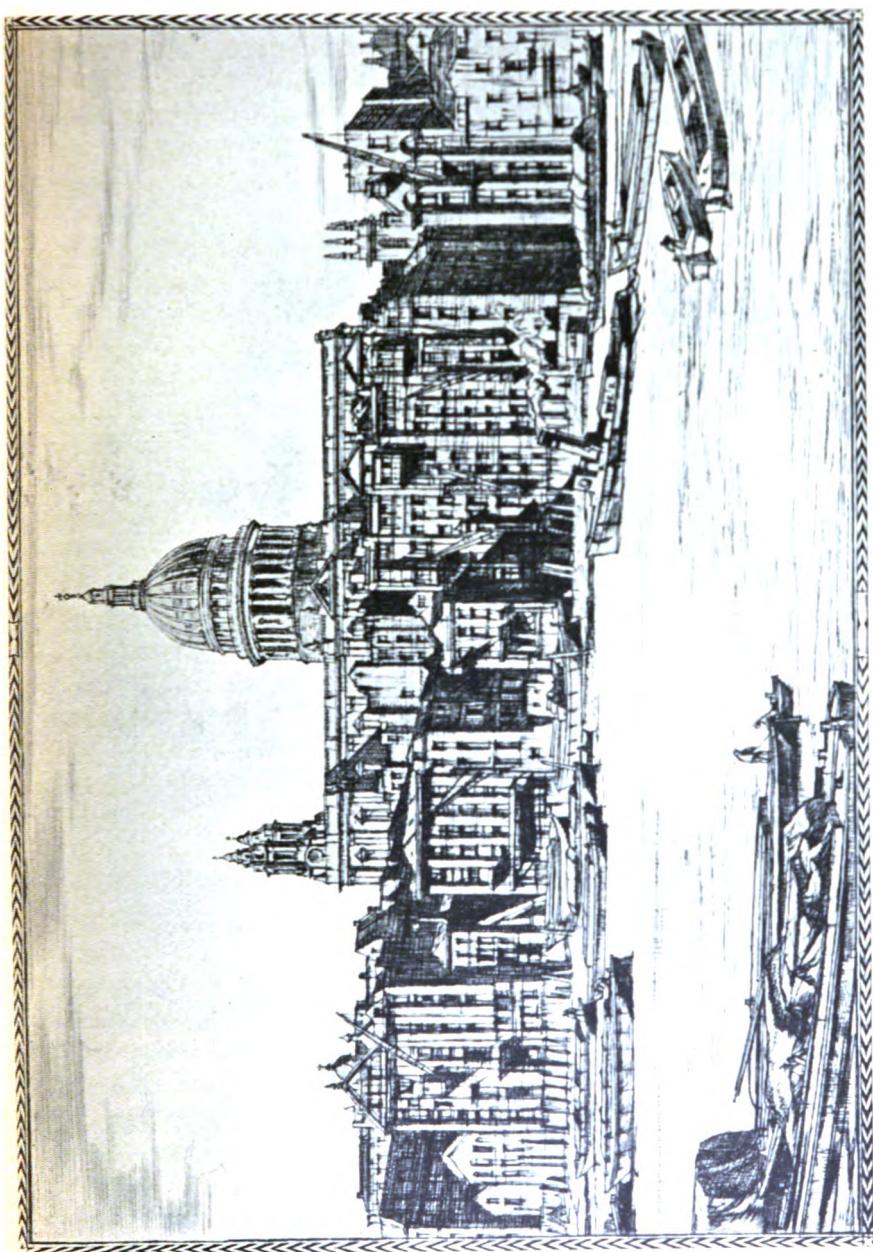
To crown all a set of beautiful panels painted by Mr. F. E. Beresford were unveiled with stately ceremonial by the Lord Mayor on July 11th, 1932.

Truly remarkable evidence in days of financial depression of the profound religious spirit I have claimed for London's citizens.

Old St. Paul's, always a place of popular resort and to some extent a thoroughfare in the Middle Ages, was treated with even less reverence after the Reformation. The nave was nicknamed "Paul's Walk," and it became necessary to issue Proclamations in later Tudor times prohibiting the use of the Cathedral as a short cut for pack-horses and mules and for vehicles or porters carrying beer casks and baskets of provisions.

"Paul's Walk" became a place of assignation for paying debts, but far worse than this it became the resort of the swashbuckling ruffians of the period. Cheats, gulls, assassins, and thieves thronged the middle aisle of St. Paul's; advertisements of all kinds covered the walls, the worst class of servants came there to be hired; worthless rascals and disreputable flaunting women met there by appointment. Parasites, hunting for a dinner, hung about a monument of the Beauchamps, foolishly believed to be the tomb of the good Duke Humphrey. Shakespeare makes Falstaff hire red-nosed Bardolph in St. Paul's, and Ben Jonson lays the third act of his *Every Man in his Humour* in the middle aisle. Bishop Earle, in his *Microcosmography*, describes the noise of the crowd of idlers in Paul's "as that of bees, a strange hum mixed of walking tongues and feet, a kind of still roar or loud whisper." He describes

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THE INVITATION CARD OF THE DEAN AND CHAPTER TO THE THANKSGIVING FOR THE PRESERVATION OF ST. PAUL'S CATHEDRAL
JUNE 25TH, 1930



Face page 120



A WINDY DAY IN ST. PAUL'S CHURCHYARD

Face page 121]

the crowd as consisting of young curates, copper captains, thieves, and dinnerless adventurers and gossip-mongers! Bishop Corbet, that jolly prelate, speaks of

“The walk,
Where all our British sinners swear and talk,
Old hardy ruffians, bankrupts, soothsayers,
And youths whose cousinage is old as theirs.”

Noteworthy amongst the few monastic churches which weathered the storm of the Reformation and escaped the Fire is St. Helen's, Bishopsgate, the Church of a Benedictine nunnery. Dean Stanley has called it the “Westminster Abbey of the City,” and a recent writer has said: “If the church of St. Helen and its monuments were the only antiquities of the kind in the city, this ancient and beautiful building would doubtless be overwhelmed with visitors. As it is, the number of those who look in must bear a very small proportion to the number of passers-by, yet there are objects and associations here which combine to make it one of the most fascinating places in the city.”

The parish church of St. Andrew Undershaft in St. Mary Axe is another survival of pre-Fire days. Stow tells us that its name was derived from the Maypole which used to be set up before the door. It is a place of pilgrimage for all historians of London as it contains the monument to John Stow.

The small perpendicular nave of St. Olave in Hart Street is another sacred spot for all who love old London, as the earthly remains of Samuel Pepys lie in a vault by the side of the Communion Table. The old church may well be proud of being the last resting place of one of its parishioners who stuck to his post during the Plague—when the Rector fled—and whose gossiping honesty gives us wonderful revelations of life in the seventeenth century.

St. Giles, Cripplegate, dates from the early part of the sixteenth century, and had a narrow escape in the Fire.

The beautiful churchyard contains a bastion of London Wall, and the church itself, besides being rich in Grinling Gibbons' carving, has interesting historical associations. John Milton and John Foxe were buried in this ancient fabric, but to men of action it makes, perhaps, a stronger appeal by the fact that Oliver Cromwell was married and Sir Martin Frobisher, the great Elizabethan adventurer, was buried here.

Part of St. Katherine Cree goes back to the sixteenth century, and the rest is attributed to Inigo Jones. It was the scene of the consecration of Archbishop Laud, and, indeed, some of the communion plate is said to have been used at this ill-starred ceremony. As we have seen, it formed part of the Priory of the Holy Trinity, but escaped the Reformation as the good monks had built it not for their own use but as a parish church. A sermon, still preached in this ancient shrine every year, recalls a scene in the business activities of one of its parishioners, Sir John Gayer, a former Lord Mayor. He was a merchant adventurer, and in one of his expeditions overseas had a merciful escape from a lion. At his death he left a bequest to provide that his deliverance from the King of Beasts should be celebrated every year, with the result that the "Lion Sermon," as it is called, is one of the ecclesiastical events of the City Year.

On the whole, perhaps, All Hallows, Barking-by-the-Tower, is the most interesting of all the old churches which survived the Great Fire.

It reminds us of a lonely abbey in the marshes near Barking destroyed by the Danes in 870 but rebuilt.

The Abbess of Barking appears to have been the patron of the Church up till the Dissolution of the Monasteries.

A wooden Saxon church seems to have stood upon this site, and it is stated that charred timbers from this ancient structure were found in 1923. Only four years ago a Roman pavement was discovered and fragments of burnt Roman

masonry brought to light, which are believed to represent débris dating back to the time when Boadicea sacked the Roman city nearly nineteen hundred years ago!

All Hallows is not impressive from the street, but its thirteenth-century arcading, sixteenth-century columns, splendid brasses—one of which goes back to the fourteenth century—and fine Grinling Gibbons' carvings, combine to make an interior which is unequalled in devotional strength.

The venerable building is a place of pilgrimage for visitors from the United States, as William Penn, founder of Pennsylvania, was baptised here and John Quincy Adams, sixth President of the United States, was married in All Hallows in 1797.

The church is now the headquarters of Toc H, the splendid movement which owes so much to Lord Wakefield, who purchased and presented to the Society the building in Poperinghe where the idea was first conceived. It has been well said that the chivalry of to-day is operating from the shrine of Coeur de Lion himself, as by long-standing tradition it is believed that the heart of the Crusader King was deposited in a chapel adjoining All Hallows Church.

When the Great Fire left London a wilderness it was necessary not only to rebuild public buildings and private residences, but to provide the citizens with a reasonable number of parish churches.

As has ever been the case in London the opportunity provided the man, and within thirty years fifty-two churches rose to replace those which were destroyed in the Fire. The man whose genius and energy produced this achievement was Christopher Wren, the son of a Dean of Windsor. He started in life as an assistant to Sir Charles Scarborough, physician to Charles II, and later to James II and Queen Mary; and during this period he busied himself in the preparation and dissection of anatomical specimens—a strange apprenticeship for the architect of St. Paul's. Later he spent his time in applying his knowledge of astronomy

and mechanics to the invention of time-saving instruments and clocks.

His reputation spread so rapidly that in 1657 he was offered the Gresham Chair of Astronomy, which, says Miss Lena Milman in her fascinating biography, he declined "with the modesty which distinguished him. His friends, however, were able to overrule him into acceptance."

The year after his appointment, Gresham College was in the hands of Cromwell's soldiers, but on the Restoration it was repaired, and Wren resumed his lectures. During some part of this period he was a member of the Honourable Artillery Company, but details of his actual military service have not come down to us.

Sir Banister Fletcher describes this medical soldier as almost tumbling into architecture. He had no master. His scaffoldings were his school, and he learnt technique by failure. He was also untravelled, for his only foreign experience was six months in Paris in 1665, when he was thirty-three years of age.

Wren had then little actual architectural training, but the accurate work of scientific research and his mental aptitude and natural keenness enabled him, by an intensive process, to lay the foundations of that sound knowledge of his art which made him England's greatest architect.

The genius of Wren provided buildings to meet the requirements of the Reformed Church. He aimed at "preaching houses" where the preacher could be seen and heard by everyone in the congregation.

He loved buildings with a central dome, and whilst St. Paul's was building "experimented" with five other churches. He had fortunately the aid of Grinling Gibbons and his Belgian assistants, who lavished exquisite carvings on the interiors.

Wren realized that his churches would be closely surrounded by other buildings and he sought to give individuality to his creations by means of their towers and spires.

He therefore graced his buildings with lofty steeples, stone lanterns or timber structures covered with lead, which pierce the sky at intervals and give an atmosphere of art to the storied streets of London. In the words of Mr. Arthur Stratton, "Portland stone, with its precious weathering qualities—encouraged even by the smoke-laden atmosphere—was never put to better use than when it was piled up in the steeples of St. Mary-le-Bow and St. Vedast's, Foster Lane; timber and lead were never more artfully shaped than in forming the graceful outline of the steeple rising above the façade of St. Martin's midway up Ludgate Hill or the spire of St. Margaret Pattens. Although so different from one another, all these steeples and lanterns are in perfect harmony, and those in its vicinity show studied relation to the contours of the parent Cathedral."

Wren's greatest monument, St. Paul's, is in sharp contrast to his parish churches. As Mr. Harper tells us, he intended St. Paul's to be essentially a place of few reservations and chiefly one of public worship. Fortunately the Duke of York (afterwards James II), had a good deal to do with the actual passing of the St. Paul's plans, and he it was who insisted upon the provision of those side-chapels which are a feature of the nave. The architect burst into tears at this spoiling, as he considered it, of his design, but he was obliged to submit, and certainly the chapels add to the beauty of the building.

The result has been that St. Paul's is regarded as Wren's greatest achievement, and if it is rather "an architectural invalid" to-day, it is certainly the most popular place of pilgrimage for visitors from abroad.

It may be that there are many who still

"to church repair
More for the music than the doctrine there."

But St. Paul's gives a reverent setting to great religious services, and happily combines the functions of a national

monument and a national home of worship. Naturally this famous church lends itself to anecdotes, and Mr. Harper relates a story by Sir George Birdwood regarding a group of women from the provinces whom he found rubbing their shoulders against one of the pillars of the nave: "Asked by a lady, one of a number of interested spectators of this singular act, why they were doing that, one of them replied,

"'Lor', ma'am, don't you know that if you don't come up to London and rub yourself against St. Paul's, at least once in your lifetime, you'll live childless and die a fool?'

"Sir George thought he traced this extraordinary belief to an Oriental origin. It was, he said, a rite similar to a very popular one in the Shiva worship of Western India, and he assumed this St. Paul's superstition to have been transmitted from the days of the very earliest pagan temple on this site, and perhaps from those of a yet earlier pillar."

Wren's churches, if not perhaps his great Cathedral, reflect, I think, the spirit of the period in which they were erected. They are essentially Protestant churches, for after the break with Rome the majority of the citizens of London threw the weight of their influence on the side of the Reformation.

Feeling against our Roman Catholic brethren ran high during the eighteenth century, and the "No Popery" agitation, which culminated in the Gordon Riots in 1780, received, I fear, a great deal of encouragement in the City.

Indeed, the City was a great centre for the religious bodies which came into prominence in the eighteenth century as active opponents of the Established Church, which they did not regard as a sufficient bulwark against the seductive doctrines of Rome.

The Halls of several of the City Companies were largely used for meetings of these dissenting bodies, and the procession which led to the Gordon Riots is said to have started from Coachmakers' Hall, which bears out the belief that the

Hall of this Fraternity was a centre of the then Protestant movement.

The City is, however, nothing if it is not a progressive body, and by 1827 we find the Common Council passing resolutions "against the iniquity of making the solemn ordinance of the Lord's Supper a qualification and passport for power," and congratulating the king upon his having placed Canning, a fervent friend of Catholic emancipation, in power.

Canning, unfortunately, died, but in 1828 the Corporation and Test Acts were repealed, and the following year Peel, hitherto an anti-Catholic, took up the question with the result that the Catholic Emancipation Act was passed.

The City was so pleased at the removal of the civil disabilities of their Roman Catholic fellow citizens that Peel was voted the Freedom in a gold box and the Prime Minister, the Duke of Wellington, received the thanks of the Corporation.

The remainder of the last century saw the removal of all the disabilities which so long affected all who did not subscribe to the views of the Established Church.

In 1836 marriage in a dissenting chapel was made valid; in 1871 an act was passed opening the Universities to non-members of the Church of England, and in 1880 the last disability was swept away by authorizing Nonconformist ministers to conduct funerals in the burying grounds of parish churches.

Notwithstanding the fact that of recent years the City has been so active in promoting religious freedom, it is a curious fact that though there are so many Episcopal Churches there are comparatively few places of worship for other denominations. The Jews have in addition to the Spanish and Portuguese Synagogue in Bevis Marks, to which I have referred, only their Great Synagogue in St. James' Street, Aldgate. The Roman Catholics do not appear to have a church at all within the City boundaries, as St. Mary

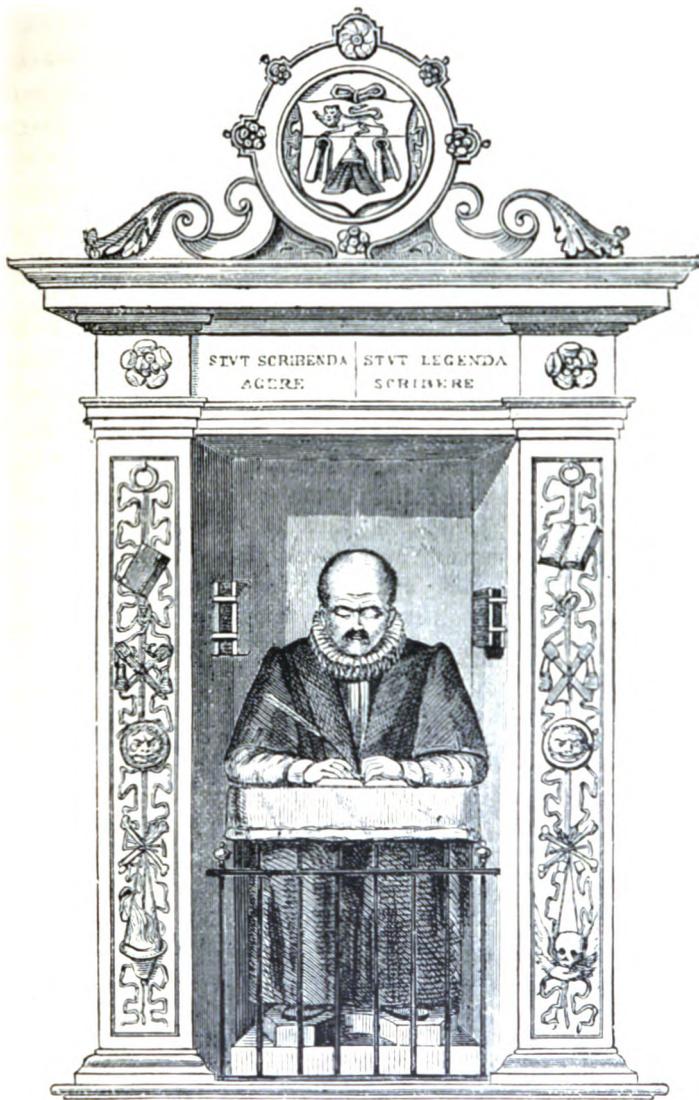
Moorfields, Eldon Street, and St. Ethelfreda, Ely Place, both lying just over the border, appear to be the nearest shrines of the Older Faith. The Methodists are similarly placed to-day, but the fraternity occupied for many years a little room in Aldersgate Street, and as the building has been demolished a commemorative tablet was placed a few years ago on the walls of St. Botolph's. Recently another tablet was placed on the walls of a building in Tabernacle Street which occupies the site of the first London headquarters of Methodism. That interesting sect, the Moravians, a small Protestant body who trace their origin from the Taborites who gathered round the Calixtine Bishop of Prague in 1467, have had a church in Fetter Lane since the seventeenth century. This house was one of the eight conventicles authorised for Divine Worship, and both Wesley and Whitefield have preached from its pulpit. This Fraternity, which has always been characterized by its splendid missionary vigour, has the offices of the London Association in aid of its missions near by in New Court, Lincoln's Inn.

The Royal Scottish Corporation in Fleur-de-lis Court is an interesting survival of Stuart times which provides not only material benefit for Scotsmen in London but a religious service in accordance with the doctrine of the Church of Scotland. Just on the City borders in Fann Street is the New Jewin Welsh chapel, where members of the Presbyterian Church of Wales can worship in their own way.

The Congregational Church is the strongest of the Free Churches in the City as it has its official centre in the Memorial Hall, Farringdon Street, which houses its fine library and a publication department. This building stands on a portion of the site of the old Fleet Prison.

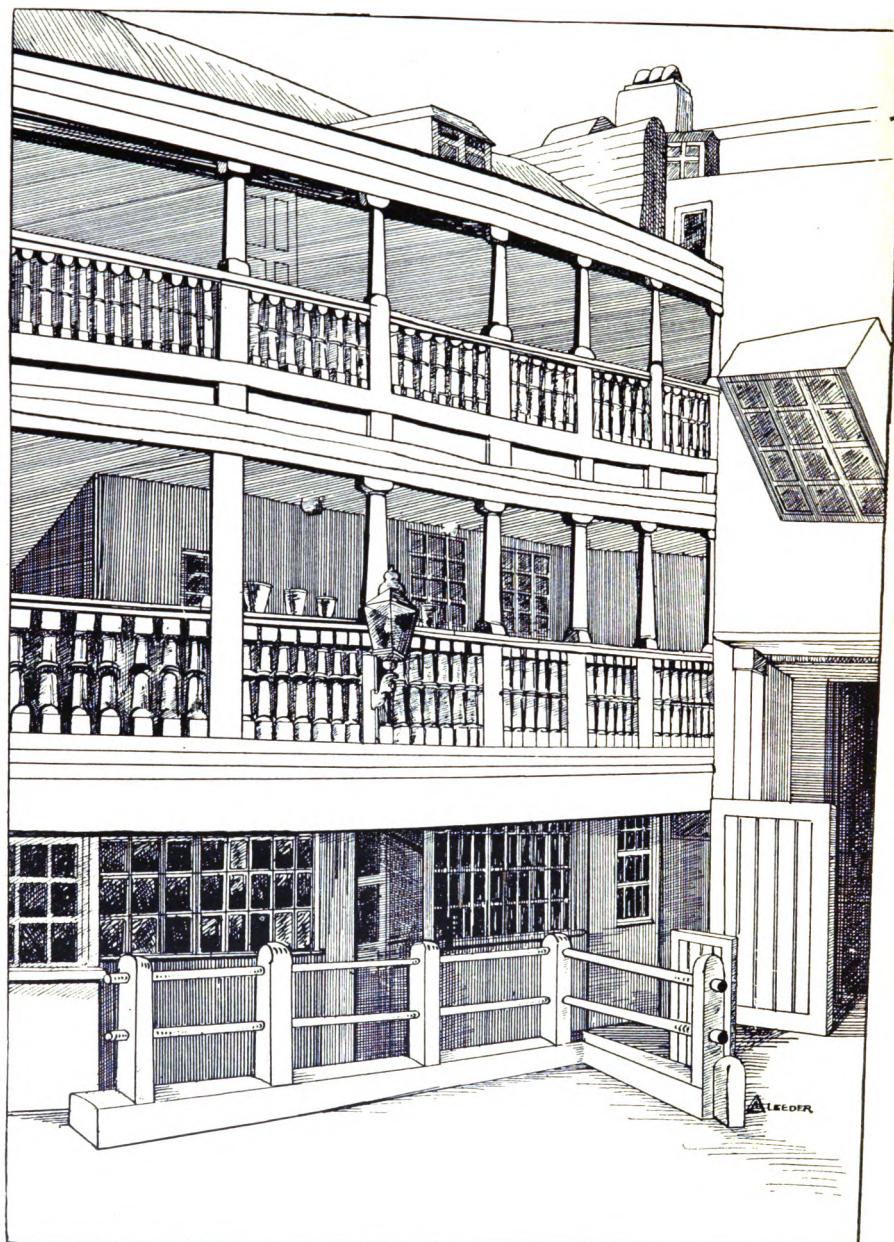
In addition this great body has a fine church in Bishops-gate, and the City Temple in Holborn Viaduct erected by the congregation of the famous Dr. Joseph Parker.

This great building has accommodation for 2,500 persons, and spacious lecture rooms below its assembly hall.



STOW'S MONUMENT IN ST. ANDREW UNDERSHAFT

[*Face page 128*



THE GEORGE INN, SOUTHWARK

Face page 129]

The youngest of all the religious bodies is very much in evidence in the City, as the Salvation Army has its headquarters in Queen Victoria Street.

There may have been religious intolerance in London in the past, but it merely reflected the spirit of the age.

To-day the citizens of the greatest City in the world are united in a spirit of brotherly love, and members of the Court of Common Council, representing every religious persuasion, meet together in one of Wren's most beautiful churches before the commencement of each year of civic labour to ask the God of their fathers to direct them.

■

CHAPTER X

STREET MONUMENTS

With chiselled touch
The stone unhewn and cold
Becomes a living mould.

MICHAEL ANGELO, *circa* 1499.

THE streets of the County of London are rather overstocked with statuary, and various writers have exercised their "wit!" upon them, but many of the recent additions are artistic and dignified.

As we approach the City from the west its boundaries are marked by two very different monuments.

In Fleet Street stands Boehm's much abused "Griffin," which marks the site of Temple Bar. The monument is hardly worthy of replacing the fine old Wren structure which preceded it, of which it has been written,

"Beneath the shade of Temple Bar
Walk shabby wits who serve the state;
Steele, with mad laughter steeped in war,
And Addison with smile sedate,
And Swift, the biliary English Rabelais,
Plods westward shabbily,
On my Lord Bolingbroke alone to wait."

Passing along Fleet Street we find the only memorial of Queen Elizabeth which looks on the streets of the great City she ruled with such an iron hand, and where she was so well beloved.

The citizens in her day were very prosperous, and they attributed their prosperity not without some reason to

their Virgin Queen. When she asked them for a certain number of ships they sent double the number, fully manned and provided; when the Queen's enemy, Mary of Scotland, was beheaded, they rang their bells and made bonfires; while the Queen was living they thanked God solemnly for her long reign; when she died their lamentations were loud and sincere; her monument, until the Fire, adorned many of the City churches.

But in Stuart days her only monument was a figure on Lud Gate which was removed when the Gate was pulled down in 1760, and now stands in a niche over the entrance to the Church of St. Dunstan's-in-the-West.

Another statue to the great Queen was made for the Royal Exchange in 1625 and removed to Guildhall so that it escaped the destruction of Gresham's original Bourse.

The City can hardly be accused of toadying to reigning sovereigns by setting up statues to them. From Queen Elizabeth to Queen Anne her successors with one exception were ignored.

The exception was the Merry Monarch, and his statue has a curious history. It was originally a fine equestrian monument representing John Sobieski, King of Poland, trampling a Turk under his horse's feet.

Sir Robert Vyner, the Goldsmith Lord Mayor of whom I have told the story with regard to commanding his King to "stay and take t'other bottle," acquired this statue, and, perhaps to celebrate the Merry Monarch's urbanity, substituted his head for that of the Polish king and converted the Turk into a likeness of Oliver Cromwell.

Regardless of all historical accuracy, as neither Charles nor his father triumphed over the redoubtable Oliver, Vyner set up the statue in the Stocks Market, and "it stood there until the building of the Mansion House in 1739, when rider and horse were laid aside for several years, out of sight in a builder's shed, and, when memory of them had faded, the Common Council, in the year 1779,

presented the statue to Robert Vyner, a descendant of the loyal Lord Mayor. It was set up by him at Gautby Park, Lincolnshire, and its last migration was in 1883 to Newby Hall, the Yorkshire seat of the present head of the Vyner family, where to-day it stands."

After the disappearance of Vyner's atrocity the streets of the City remained free of equestrian statues until 1844, when Chantrey's great Memorial to Wellington was erected in front of the Royal Exchange. The statue was voted to the Duke by the Common Council in 1838, not for his military achievements but "in appreciation of his services in obtaining for the citizens the London Bridges Approaches Act." It was unveiled on the anniversary of Waterloo, the King of Saxony being present and joining heartily in the cheering of the crowd. The sculptor received £9,000 for this fine monument, which was cast from cannon captured during the great soldier's campaigns. The Duke's memorial remained the sole statue of its kind until the year 1873, when the new Holborn Circus was adorned by a splendid bronze statue to the Prince Consort which was presented to the Corporation anonymously by a private citizen through the sculptor, Mr. Charles Bacon.

This great civic memorial to the affection which Albert the Good inspired in the City was unveiled by King Edward VII as Prince of Wales on January 9th, 1874.

The elaborate pedestal was erected by the Court of Common Council at a cost of £2,000. The fine bas-reliefs on each side of the plinth cost the Court five hundred guineas.

The City has been as sparing in the erection of monuments to its own viceroys as to its sovereigns. Only two stand in the City's streets, the obelisks to John Wilkes and Robert Waithman in Ludgate Circus. Both were aldermen of the ward of Farringdon Without.

John Wilkes has been described as "an unscrupulous agitator and a clever demagogue," but he certainly was the idol of the citizens at a critical period in the eighteenth

century. He played an important part in securing the complete freedom of the press, and the support which he obtained from his fellow citizens is remarkable evidence of the way in which the City managed to keep in touch with popular sympathies even in the days before its electorate was upon a popular basis.

Robert Waithman was another political alderman who was a strong opponent of our war with Revolutionary France and a persistent advocate of parliamentary and judicial reform.

He was Lord Mayor in 1823, and when he died *The Times* eulogized him as "always rising above his rivals as the steady and consistent advocate of the rights of his countrymen and the liberties and privileges of his fellow-citizens."

Down New Bridge Street we come to an open space between Queen Victoria Street and Blackfriars Bridge fittingly marked by a fine memorial to the first Queen Empress. This enlightened Sovereign looks toward the great Embankment which bears her name.

Another fine statue to the greatest of England's queens, by Hamo Thornycroft, graces the centre of the quadrangle of the Royal Exchange.

Queen Victoria's uncle, King William IV, also stands in the City's streets. This monument which marks the junction of Cannon Street, King William Street, Gracechurch Street and Eastcheap is one of the least impressive in London. It is a huge mass of stone, obstructing the traffic and only noteworthy for covering the site of the Boar's Head Tavern which will be referred to later on.

Passing to St. Paul's Churchyard we find the only remaining monument to a sovereign to be found in the City streets. Queen Anne in white marble stands before Wren's great cathedral.

Her Majesty is surrounded by four emblematical figures representing England, France, Ireland and the North American Colonies.

It is a curious fact that three out of these four figures

could hardly be shown supporting a modern statue of a Sovereign of these realms. Even in the days of Queen Anne the last vestige of English authority in France had disappeared for a century and a half, but, by a curious pretence, our Sovereigns were described as kings and queens of France and quartered the Bourbon lilies on their arms right up to the reign of George III.

The statue representing the American colonies excites great interest amongst visitors from the United States. It is the graceful figure of a girl wearing the feathered headdress of an Indian "brave," and not very much else. She was armed with a bow and arrow, but the bow has disappeared.

A lizard crawls at her feet and one foot rests on a decapitated head. American friends ask awkward questions as to the symbolism of the lizard and the man's head which I am unable to answer. They insist that Indians were not fond of cutting off heads but preferred to scalp their victims. Alas! the monument is merely a replica of the original statue by Francis Bird set up in 1712. By the middle of the last century the monument had weathered so badly that it had become "a figure of fun." None of the figures had a complete set of limbs, so it was decided to replace the group by the present statue, which was erected in 1886 and endeavours faithfully to represent the original.

Very different to Boelim's "Griffin" is the impressive War Memorial which marks the approach to the City from Holborn. It is a fine bronze figure of a Royal Fusilier in the fighting kit of the trenches. The plain stone plinth bears the proud inscription:

"THE ROYAL FUSILIERS
(The City of London Regiment).
To the Glorious Memory of
22,000 Royal Fusiliers
who fell in the Great War
1914-1919."

This is the more striking of the City's two principal War Memorials in the open. The other stands in front of the Royal Exchange, and takes the form of a pillar of Portland stone surmounted by a lion. It was designed by Sir Aston Webb, and is dedicated to the memory of all London troops who fell in the Great War. Around it representatives of the City's regiments bearing their colours assemble for the annual service on Armistice Day, which is attended by the Lord Mayor and Corporation.

The City has paid as little attention in her streets to great statesmen as to great sovereigns, as the only great statesman who stands in a City thoroughfare is Sir Robert Peel.

It is eloquent testimony to the progressive political policy of the City that the "greatest member of Parliament that has ever lived" should be so conspicuously honoured.

Peel evidently occupied a special place in the hearts of the citizens, as he was as familiar with finance as with statecraft.

Was he not Chairman of the Bullion Committee which in 1819 procured the resumption of cash payments by the Bank of England?

Peel was indeed a man to admire, as it has been well said that he always placed his country before his party and his duty before his prejudices.

The absence of monuments from the City streets is indicated by the fact that the one great pillar the City contains is known as *the Monument*.

This single beautiful column is the work of Wren, and worth a score of other less worthy memorials.

It was erected by Act of Parliament "in perpetuall Remembrance" of the Great Fire of 1666, or rather to commemorate the rebuilding of the City in an incredibly short space of time after that prodigious calamity.

Wren's original design was for an unfluted column with flames in gilt bronze springing out at intervals around

it. It was to be surmounted by an immense flaming vase crowned by a phoenix with outspread wings. As was so often the case, Wren's original sketch was altered and a fluted column without flames was substituted.

It was at first intended to place a statue of the Merry Monarch on the top, instead of the vase, but eventually Wren had his way and his vase was adopted, but the phoenix was abandoned on account of the fact that its outspread wings might imperil stability in a high wind. Six years were spent in raising the monument to its height of 202 feet, a curious measurement, chosen to indicate the distance of the column from the baker's shop in Pudding Lane where the Fire broke out.

The inscription was much discussed, and some of the best scholars of the day tried their hands at it.

Curiously enough the composition of the Dean of York and not of a Londoner was accepted. The Dean's inscription was, however, not fated to last long, as in 1681 the Popish Plot Agitation broke out and the original wording was replaced by legends in Latin and English which referred to the "treachery and malice of the Popish faction."

This absurd accusation disappeared in the time of James II, but was replaced on the accession of William and Mary as, strange as it may seem to-day, it was firmly believed at the time that the burning of the City was due to a Jesuit plot. It was not without reason that Pope, an ardent adherent of the Older Faith, penned the lines:

"Where London's column pointing to the skies
Like a tall bully, lifts its head and lies."

This amazing and unjust libel on our Roman Catholic fellow citizens actually remained on the monument till 1831.

The plinth of the column is adorned with bas-reliefs by Caius Gabriel Cibber, which represent London mourning

over the ruins of the City whilst Time assists her to rise and the Angels of Peace and Plenty are descending to her aid.

The column is pierced by a staircase with no less than 345 black marble steps which lead the energetic sightseer to a gallery from which, on a clear day, a magnificent view of the mighty Thames may be had.

In the last century this platform became popular with suicides, and in consequence "it was deemed advisable to encage and disfigure the Monument as we now see it."

The Monument occupies the site of St. Margaret's, New Fish Street, which was among the eighty-nine churches which disappeared in the Fire. Its present position, surrounded by high buildings, may, as Bruce suggests, lead the visitor to recall the witty doggerel chalked on the plinth by the Duke of Buckingham:

Here stand I,
The Lord knows why,
But if I fall
Have at ye all!

But he must remember that the surroundings of the Monument are very different to-day to the setting in which Wren erected it. In the seventeenth century the site was a central one on the main approach to London Bridge, for all to see on entering or leaving London by that great highway.

The surroundings of the Monument have interesting literary associations, especially to Irishmen, as Oliver Goldsmith is said to have worked as an assistant to an apothecary in Monument Yard.

Few recall the fact and fewer still will remember their Stow well enough to associate Monument Station on the Underground with the Black Prince, but it is fairly clear that this busy place marks the site of the historic building referred to in the "Survey."

CHAPTER XI

LIQUID HISTORY

"I walk my beat before London Town,
Five hours up and seven down.
Up I go and end my run
At Tide-end-Town, which is Teddington.
Down I come with the mud in my hands
And plaster it over the Maplin Sands."

KIPLING.

ONE day during the Great War the Right Honourable John Burns was chatting with a party of visitors from overseas. It was at Westminster, and a Canadian was dilating on the magnificence of his St. Lawrence, and an American was singing the glories of the Mississippi.

"How can you compare your Thames with these, Mr. Burns," said someone.

"Man," cried Burns, "your St. Lawrence is just *water* and your Mississippi plain *mud*, but the *Thames* is *liquid history!*"

And seventy miles of that "liquid history" constitutes the Port of London to-day.

Very few of the ships which now enter this great port reach the City of London. They remain in the great docks downstream, but a thousand years ago the craft which anchored at London Bridge might have sailed on to Teddington or even to Oxford.

Indeed the Thames was the great highway into the heart of England.

But most of the little ships of the Middle Ages did *not* sail on. They discharged their cargo in the secure river harbours situated far—but not too far—from the sea, so that throughout its long career London has owed its prosperity, as it probably owed its existence, to the Thames.

The City Fathers realized that that great highway to the Continent and inland was a great possession, and they guarded it jealously.

A capital story, showing not only the value of the Thames, but the appreciation of that value by the citizens of London, is related concerning James I and a certain Lord Mayor in his reign. “James being in want of some twenty thousand pounds, applied to the Corporation of London for the loan of that sum. The Corporation refused. The king, whose notions of the regal power were somewhat arbitrary, sent for the Lord Mayor and certain of the aldermen, and rated them severely for their disloyalty, insisting that they should raise the money forthwith ‘by hook or by crook.’ ‘May it please your majesty,’ said the Lord Mayor, ‘we cannot lend you what we have not got.’ ‘You must get it,’ replied the king, haughtily. ‘We cannot, sire,’ said the Lord Mayor. ‘Then I’ll compel you,’ rejoined the king. ‘But, sire, you cannot compel us,’ retorted the Lord Mayor. ‘No!’ exclaimed James; ‘then I’ll ruin you and your city for ever. I’ll remove my courts of law, my Court itself, and my Parliament to Winchester or to Oxford, and make a desert of Westminster; and then think what will become of you!’ ‘May it please your majesty,’ meekly but firmly replied the Lord Mayor, ‘you are at liberty to remove yourself and your courts wherever you please; but, sire, there will always be one consolation to the merchants of London: your majesty cannot take the Thames along with you.’”

Miss Balfour has told this story in her own charming way. She sings:

" It so fell out—it often did—
King James was in a passion:
The factious City must be chid
In no uncertain fashion.
The foward cits should learn their place—
He'd teach 'em to offend him!
He bade the Lord Mayor come apace
To Whitehall to attend him.

The Lord Mayor came with pomp and show,
His lofty brow unclouded:
The Aldermen, sedate and slow,
Behind his lordship crowded.
King James harangues the scarlet throng
In varied Scots and Latin:
His ire was great, his language strong—
It shook the chair he sat in.

He swore he'd break their stubborn pride—
He thought his threat was clever:
He would remove the Court, he cried,
From London Town for ever!
The Lord Mayor bowed his stately head,
But failed to shake or shiver:
" Remove it, sire, if you will," he said—
" So long as you leave the River!"

From the days of Richard I till comparatively recently, the Port of London was controlled by the City alone.

As England advanced from strength to strength the Thames became the great gateway to national prosperity, and London held the keys. The possession of these keys by the City was however challenged by the Lord High Admiral in the days of Queen Elizabeth, but the stout-hearted citizens were not to be brow-beaten by any admiral. The viceroy of the City was an "admiral" himself, and the end of a long fight was a Charter from James I confirming the City in her sovereignty over the Thames as

"Our Beloved the Mayor, Commonalty and Citizens had time out of mind exercised the conservation of the Thames."

The Lord Mayor was in ancient times not only Ruler of the City but the Ruler of the Thames. He governed not only the Thames itself but the Medway, and held his courts in various towns to punish offenders against the laws made for the preservation of commerce and the protection of trade and fishing on the great river and its tributaries.

Perhaps this fact as much as any other establishes the sovereign character of the City and the powers of her merchant princes.

Unfortunately the progress of the port was so rapid that the Corporation was unable to keep pace with it.

At first the revenue authorities were a stumbling block, as they would not allow ships to unload their cargoes until they had paid their dues.

Then private enterprise operated against the provision of docks as they would take away the profits of wharfingers and lightermen.

So ships were obliged to unload in midstream and, as there was no Thames Police, they were subjected to attacks from "robbers, pirates, smugglers and murderers who formerly infested the Pool and the Port of London."

At last things had reached such a pass that the trade of London was endangered.

Antwerp and Rotterdam were making better provision for shipping than London, so the City's idol, William Pitt, took a hand in the game.

An Act of Parliament was passed which created the West India Dock Company with power to build cargo docks.

The work was carried out with admirable thoroughness and in a way that shows that the Thames thieves must have been desperate marauders. The dock was surrounded

by formidable high walls and enclosed by a twenty-foot broad ditch filled with water to a depth of six feet.

"Still to be seen, testifying to the fortress-like quality of 'West India' is one of the guardhouses, the sole survivor of several built to accommodate the troops which protected these docks in their earliest days. Built of brick, surmounted with Portland stone and roofed with copper, this building, now called the 'Roundhouse,' contains slotted racks for rifles, and during its long career has been known by other military sobriquets such as the 'Powder House' and the 'Armoury.' Not so very long ago, a Volunteer Corps, the 15th Middlesex Regiment, recruited from the Dock Company and Customs employees, used the building in which to store their arms.

"When the Chartist Riots seemed to threaten danger in 1832 a civilian 'armed watch' was raised here, the men being provided with muskets and the officers with pistols and swords: a reserve hundred had cutlasses and truncheons served out."

Unfortunately Pitt's successors did not develop his ideas, the policy of State control of the Port was abandoned and the building of docks left to private enterprise. The result was that various private companies built docks and entered into competition with one another for customers. Their profits fell and they were unable to provide satisfactory service or provide money for extensions.

The City was hampered in its administration of the Port by the Lord High Admiral and other authorities so that in 1857 Parliament created a new body, the Thames Conservancy, to take over the powers of the City Corporation and to rule the river from Cricklade in Wiltshire to the Nore.

Under the new Act the Thames and Medway were separated, and the Lord Mayor's authority over the riverside towns disappeared.

The abandonment of the control of the Port by the City

has been deplored, but I think it was a wise step, as it paved the way, as we shall see, for the creation of a national body to succeed it.

In 1872, however, the City had a great opportunity of regaining its control of important functions in relation to its old river province.

Public health had become a pressing matter in the kingdom, and Parliament was busy framing its first Public Health Acts for improving the health of our towns and ports.

The Corporation seized its opportunity with both hands and offered, at its own expense, to take over the sanitary control of the Port it formerly administered.

The Thames Conservancy was glad to be rid of the responsibility, and so the Corporation of London became the Port of London Sanitary Authority.

The functions of this great body would alone justify the respect with which the City is regarded by all who are interested in the health of London.

The City is the sanitary watchdog of London's great waterway from the sea to Teddington Lock.

The Corporation appoints the Medical officer of the Port of London, who has immense responsibilities with regard to safeguarding the kingdom from the importation of infectious disease and ensuring that only pure food enters the Port and reaches the great markets which play such a great part in feeding England.

This officer has four fully qualified assistant medical officers at Gravesend, who board all ships arriving from abroad, and another at Sheerness for the medical inspection of craft proceeding up the River Medway, the mouth of which is within the jurisdiction of the Port Sanitary Authority. His duties also include the examination of foodstuffs arriving at Queenborough.

The Medical Officer has also under his control a large staff of Inspectors and a Hospital of fifty beds at Denton,

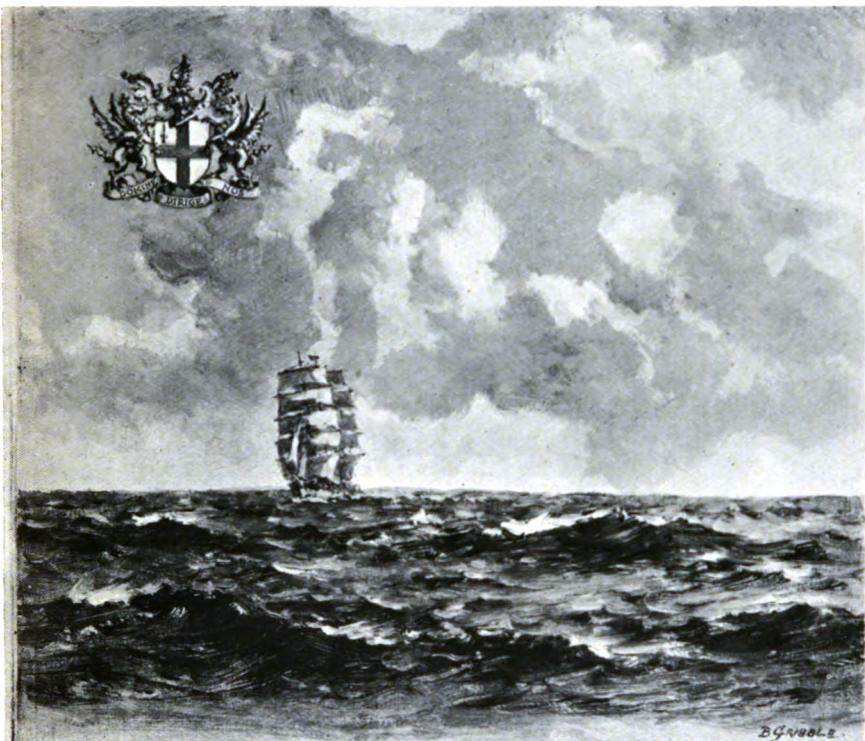
near Greenwich, for the reception and treatment of infectious cases found on board ships entering the Port. This Hospital is provided with a Medical Officer and a complete nursing staff.

The Corporation provides two launches which are in regular use for the inspection of shipping, and a motor launch for similar functions in the upper reaches of the river. One of the launches is always under steam at a hulk moored off the Custom House at Gravesend.

The hulk is used as an Inspection Station and berth for one of the Inspecting Medical Officers who take tours of duty on board in rotation.

By the beginning of the present century the City was nobly playing its part in the special province it had adopted, but the Thames Conservancy which had taken over its administrative functions was finding itself unable to cope with the general development of the Port. Ships were getting bigger and the channel of the river was too shallow for them, so Parliament was forced to move again.

A Royal Commission was appointed in 1902 and reported that the Port of London was in danger of losing its existing and part of its future trade. This was a serious state of affairs, but Mr. Lloyd George was moved to take the matter up. He acted with characteristic energy, and in 1909 the great Port of London Authority came into existence. This Body consists of twenty-eight members representing the Admiralty, the Corporation of London, the Board of Trade, the London County Council, Trinity House and last, but by no means least, the users of the Port, indeed the traders are in a majority. The Authority has acquired and operates the property of the old dock companies and rules the river from an imaginary line seawards to an imaginary line inland. "To the east that line connects Havengore Creek in Essex with Warden Point in Kent; to the west the line crosses the Thames slightly below Teddington Lock in Middlesex. Between the two there is a distance of sixty-



B. G. Neale

Reception and Banquet
BY THE CORPORATION OF THE CITY OF LONDON
TO THE DELEGATES
TO
THE LONDON NAVAL CONFERENCE
at the Guildhall
ON THURSDAY THE 25th OF JANUARY, 1930.

The Rt. Hon. Sir William Alfred Waterlow, K.B.E., Lord Mayor.

WILLIAM PHENÉ NEAL, ALDERMAN
Major FRANK HENRY BOWATER, } SHERIFFS.

Capt. E. CALCOTT PRYCE, LL.B. Chairman of Reception Committee

Specially Drawn by Raphael Tuck & Sons Ltd.



[By kind permission of Messrs. Raphael Tuck & Sons, Ltd., and of the owner of the original picture,
Captain E. C. Pryce, J.P., LL.B., C.C.

THE CITY AND THE SEA

[Face page 144

Reception and Banquet

BY THE CORPORATION OF THE CITY OF LONDON

TO THE DELEGATES
THE LONDON NAVAL CONFERENCE

AT THE GUILDHALL

ON THURSDAY THE 25th OF JANUARY 1910

The Rt Hon Sir William Alfred Waterlow K.B.E. *Lord Mayor*

WILLIAM PHENE NEAL *Clerk*
Major FRANK HENRY BOWATER *Sheriff*

Edward Price
Chairman

nine miles, stretching from the spaciousness of the Nore to the bushes and feathery trees of grass-plots within sound of the waters of Teddington Weir. Seawards there is the unending procession of ships—from giant liners to humble tugs and Thames barges—inland is the view of many skiffs and punts and pleasure craft."

The new Authority has carried out its functions with admirable expedition, and has enormously increased the amenities of the Port. It is especially concerned with deepening and dredging the river and improving dock accommodation. It has only been in existence for less than a quarter of a century, but to-day the ocean liner safely holds her way along a deeply dredged channel to one of the docks nearer the sea, whilst the smaller steamers push on, still along a deeply dredged channel, to the heart of the City itself.

To-day London has docks which compare with those of any in the world, notably the new Tilbury Dock, which is capable of admitting the largest liners afloat and is provided with a landing stage which permits passengers to go directly on board these vessels without the necessity for employing tenders.

The City Corporation has a curious connection with the Isle of Dogs, as Pitt's Act authorized the building of a canal from Limehouse to Blackwall. The canal was useful in the days of sailing ships, but it was never a financial success, and was sold to the West India Dock Company in 1829. It became merged in the South-West India Dock in the 'sixties of the last century, and is only mentioned as an example of the one-time energies of the Common Council.

So to-day the Thames is going on making liquid history. The Port of London is controlled by a splendid and up-to-date body on which the Corporation of London is represented, the Thames Conservancy remains in charge of the river above Teddington Lock and the Port Sanitary

Authority appointed by the Common Council safeguards the public health of London and her great markets.

Chapters might be written on the warehouses of the London docks, but this has already been done most admirably by A. G. Linney in his *Peepshow of the Port of London*.

Just a few brief extracts from his interesting pages. He tells us that the London wholesale wine trade is, as we have previously noted, almost confined to the limits of the Tower ward.

"Within this district are to be found offices and cellars of long-established firms of wine-merchants possessing histories going back fifty, one hundred, two hundred years. Grandfathers, fathers, sons, uncles, nephews, and relations by marriage, figure in the records of these concerns, and on the walls of many of these offices are to be seen portraits representing several generations of partners. In one such office I found myself in a counting-house which, save for telephone and typewriter, might have come straight out of the pages of Charles Dickens. I have met in such offices clerks who have been daily working there for fifty and sixty years. One such firm proudly boasts that it continues to supply something virtually identical with the sack that Falstaff loved all too well. Indeed, in the street that bears the name of the diarist, Pepys, is a wine firm which continues the custom of sending its East India sherry round the world to Australia and back so that the wine may acquire that fragrant nuttiness which only the continuous rolling of the high seas seems able to impart."

He concludes that after wandering through the offices and cellars of the old wine firms he could not help the thought forming itself that there is an astonishing difference between the respective antiquity, tradition, and lore appertaining to the products of the juice of the grape and the dull, crude, shallow matter-of-factness attaching to all forms of drink which are summarily dismissed under the ugly, commonplace trade name, "minerals".

As we have seen, there have been many changes in London, especially of recent years, but of the Thames it may still be said,

“A thousand landmarks perish,
A hundred streets grow strange;
With all the dreams they cherish
They go the ways of change;
But, whatso towers may tumble,
And whatso bridges fall,
And whatso statues crumble
Of folk both great and small,
The Oldest Thing in London he changes not at
all.”

CHAPTER XII

THE CITY'S BRIDGES

London Bridge is broken down,
Dance over my Lady Lee;
London Bridge is broken down,
With a gay ladie.

How shall we build it up again?
Dance over my Lady Lee;
How shall we build it up again?
With a gay ladie.

Build it up with stone so strong,
Dance over my Lady Lee;
Huzza! 'twill last for ages long,
With a gay ladie.

Chronicles of London Bridge.

If the Thames is "liquid history," and London owes its greatness to the noble river which made it the greatest port in the world, the bridge which led across it has played a romantic part in building up the City's fortunes. It was regarded with peculiar pride and affection. The children made songs about it, and I have set out one of these ditties at the head of this chapter. The position of London was probably chosen because the river was narrower here than at any point up the river till we get to the part which has become known as Chelsea.

There are references to a Bridge across the river in Roman times; indeed, Gomme thinks the Bridge was one of the features of Augusta, but it is not till the tenth century that we have historical evidence again of the existence

of the famous bridge not only in all England but in all Europe. Three wooden bridges in succession were built, only to fall victims to enemies, flood and fire.

The part played by the Church in the life of the people in medieval times, to which I have already referred, is emphasized by the fact that the historic Old London Bridge was built by a priest called Peter, who was curate in the Church of St. Mary Colechurch in the Cheap. Peter was the great engineer of his day, perhaps a member of the fraternity called the Pontific (or Bridge-building) Brothers, who about this time built the famous bridges at Avignon, Pont St. Esprit, Cahors, Saintes, and La Rochelle. He built—or repaired as some say—a Bridge across the river in elm wood.

He was not satisfied, however, with the wooden structure, and in 1176 undertook what must have been a gigantic task at the time, the construction of a Bridge in stone. The Bridge took thirty-three years in the building, and Peter died before his great work was finished; but at last the Bridge was completed, and was the glory of medieval London. It was fantastically beautiful, and its gay shops and the magnificence of its chapel and other buildings made the phrase "as fine as London Bridge" pass into a proverb. Many of the great City Merchants had their mansions on the Bridge, and there is a romantic story about Sir William Hewett who lived on the Bridge.

One day his infant daughter slipped from the arms of her nurse and fell into the river. A sturdy apprentice, Edward Osborne, saw the accident, jumped into the river and saved the child from drowning. The baby grew up into a beautiful girl and many men of high degree sought the hand of the Lord Mayor's lovely daughter. Her father put them all off with the words, "No! Osborne saved her and Osborne shall have her." Osborne got not only his master's heiress but his business, and himself became

Lord Mayor in 1583 and founded a noble house, whose present head is the Duke of Leeds.

The old Bridge had no less than twenty arches and road space of only a few feet. The piers projected on either side and, helped by struts, supported the houses and shops.

The Bridge Gate stood on the third, or in later drawings what appears to be the second pier from the Southwark shore. It was provided with strong doors, for it was the Southern Gate of the City, as the Bridge was regarded as part of the Mayor's domain.

Further north, between the seventh and eighth piers, was a stone tower on which the heads of traitors were displayed, but this distinction was transferred later to the southern tower when a curious wooden building called Nonesuch House was erected. This edifice was brought over in sections from Holland. It was elaborately carved, painted and gilded, and became the most conspicuous feature of the Bridge in the sixteenth century.

About the same period the water power of the Bridge was utilized. This was by no means inconsiderable as the old Bridge acted as a sort of dam across the river. The tide struggled up through the arches and then rushed foaming down providing power for raising water to be distributed from a tower to the highest part of the City and for driving the water-wheels of corn mills.

The Bridge suffered from a fire in 1633, but this was a blessing in disguise, as the gap left at the northern end saved the Bridge thirty-three years later. The Corporation included the Bridge in its great rebuilding scheme after the Fire, widened it, and built a new south gate; but year by year its inconvenience became more and more apparent. Indeed by the beginning of the eighteenth century old London Bridge had become perilously ruinous. The houses overhung the roadway, and arches of timber stretched across the street to keep the shaky old tenements

from falling down. "Nothing but use," says Pennant, "could preserve the repose of the inmates (of these crazy buildings) who soon grew deaf to the noise of the falling waters, the clamour of watermen and the frequent shrieks of drowning wretches." Yet we are told that one old citizen who went to live in the country was unable to sleep as he missed the sound of the rushing waters to which he had been accustomed in one of the old houses where he had been born and lived for seventy years.

The Thames was until the eighteenth century the great highway of London, but the Bridge formed a dangerous spot which was avoided by passengers getting out of their wherries at Swan Pier, leaving the watermen to shoot the Bridge with empty craft and pick them up at Billingsgate.

There was actually a proverb that "London Bridge was made for wise men to go over and fools to go under!"

First the Bridge went out of favour as the site of residences of great merchants, and then for important shops such as those of the booksellers, so that by the reign of George II its rickety old buildings were chiefly occupied by pin and needle makers who attracted custom by low prices, as we are told that fashionable ladies from the far-off villages of Kensington and Chelsea used to risk the inconveniences of the Bridge so as to make cheap purchases.

At last in 1757 the old houses were removed and a great deal of money spent on repairs and improvements, but the old Bridge was doomed.

Fortunately the pious benefactions of former citizens had provided plenty of money to provide a new one. The maintenance of London's pride, its Bridge, was looked upon as a matter of personal concern to our forefathers in the Middle Ages. At first it was the special care of a religious fraternity, the Brethren of St. Thomas, who not only had charge of a chapel on the Bridge but of the

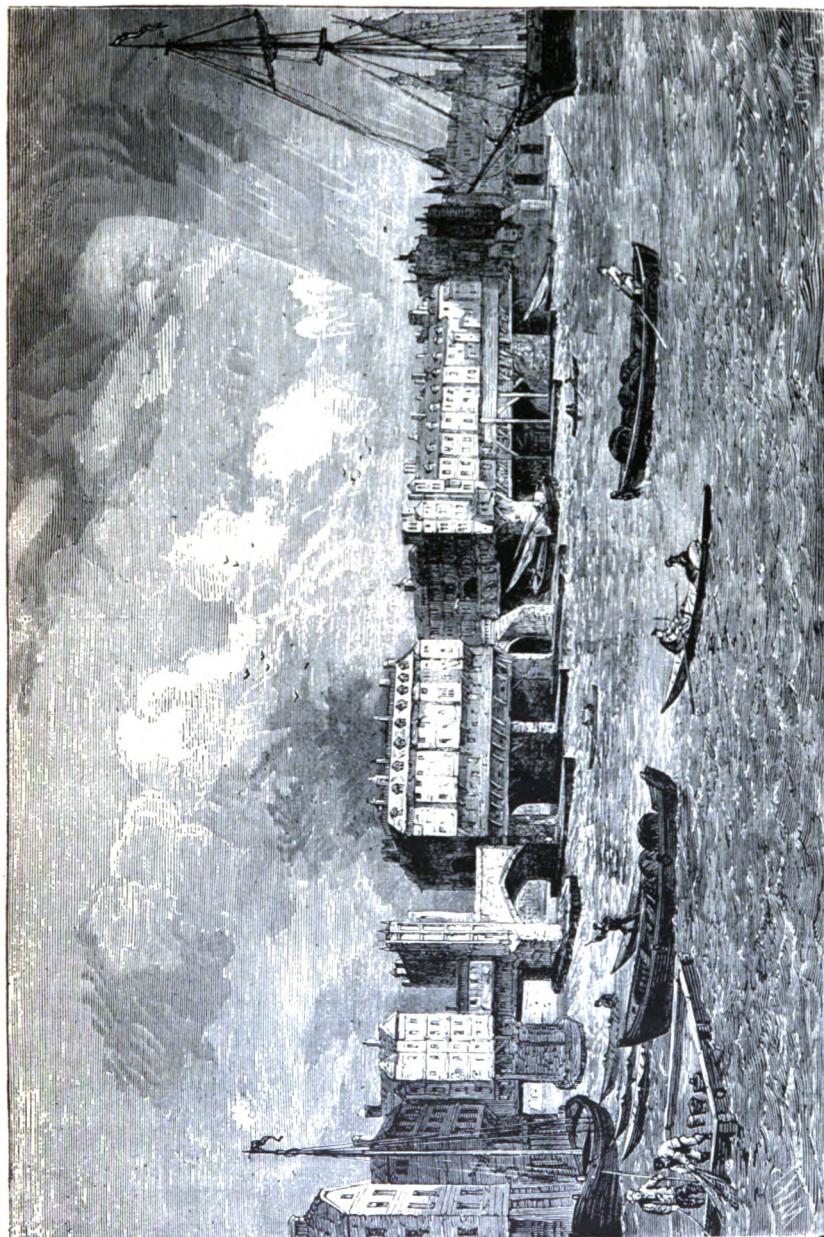
revenues for the maintenance of the fabric. Kings of England and "charitable and well-disposed persons" granted, or devised, property to be held in trust by the Mayor, Commonalty and citizens of London for the "use," "works" or "sustentation" of London Bridge. This great Trust became known as the Bridge House Estates.

The "House" from which this Trust gets its name was in Tooley Street, Southwark, and Stow tells us this "House" "seemeth to have taken beginning with the first foundation of the bridge, either of stone or timber;" and that it covered "a large plot of ground on the banks of the river Thames, containing divers large buildings for the stowage of materials" for the Bridge. The Bridge House, in fact, was long used as a receptacle of provisions for the Navy, and as a store-house for the public in times of dearth; ovens were attached to it, in which the biscuit for the Royal Navy was baked. It was also used on certain occasions as a banqueting-hall, when the Lord Mayor came in his official capacity to the Borough.

The property administered by the Trust consists of freehold hereditaments in the City, in various metropolitan boroughs and in the county of Essex. A good deal of the Bridge property is in St. George's Fields in Southwark, and consists of small residential houses which are being subjected to a comprehensive improvement scheme. Some of the property of the Trust has been devised for special purposes, for instance, the revenues from an estate at Stratford are earmarked for the support of two local bridges known as St. Michael's Bridge and Peg's Hole Bridge.

The title of the citizens to the Bridge House Estates does not appear to have been challenged since the days of Edward I when answer was made to the inquiry of the itinerant Justices in 1276 that the citizens had always been accustomed to appoint the Wardens of London Bridge. As the result of this inquiry the custody of London Bridge,

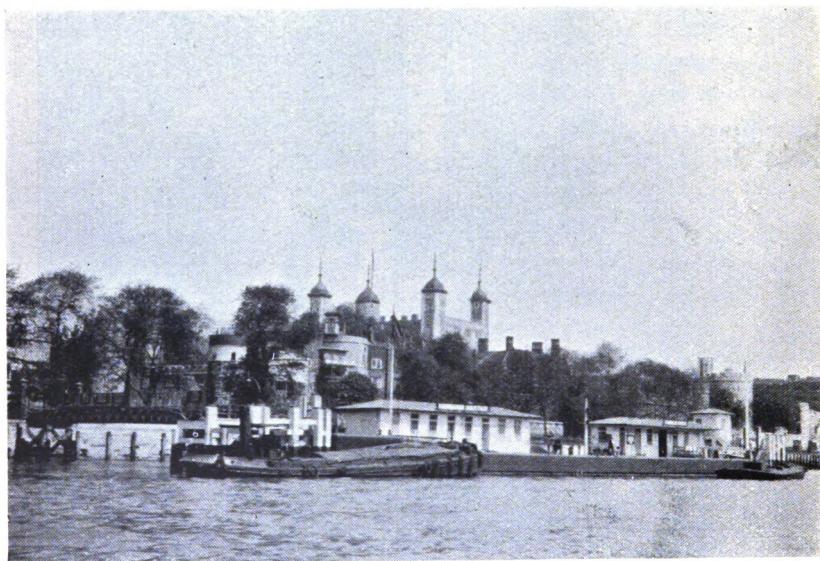
LONDON BRIDGE, 1756
From an old view, taken shortly before the demolition of the houses.



[Face page 152



(1) OLD SWAN PIER JUST ABOVE LONDON BRIDGE
Recently abolished.

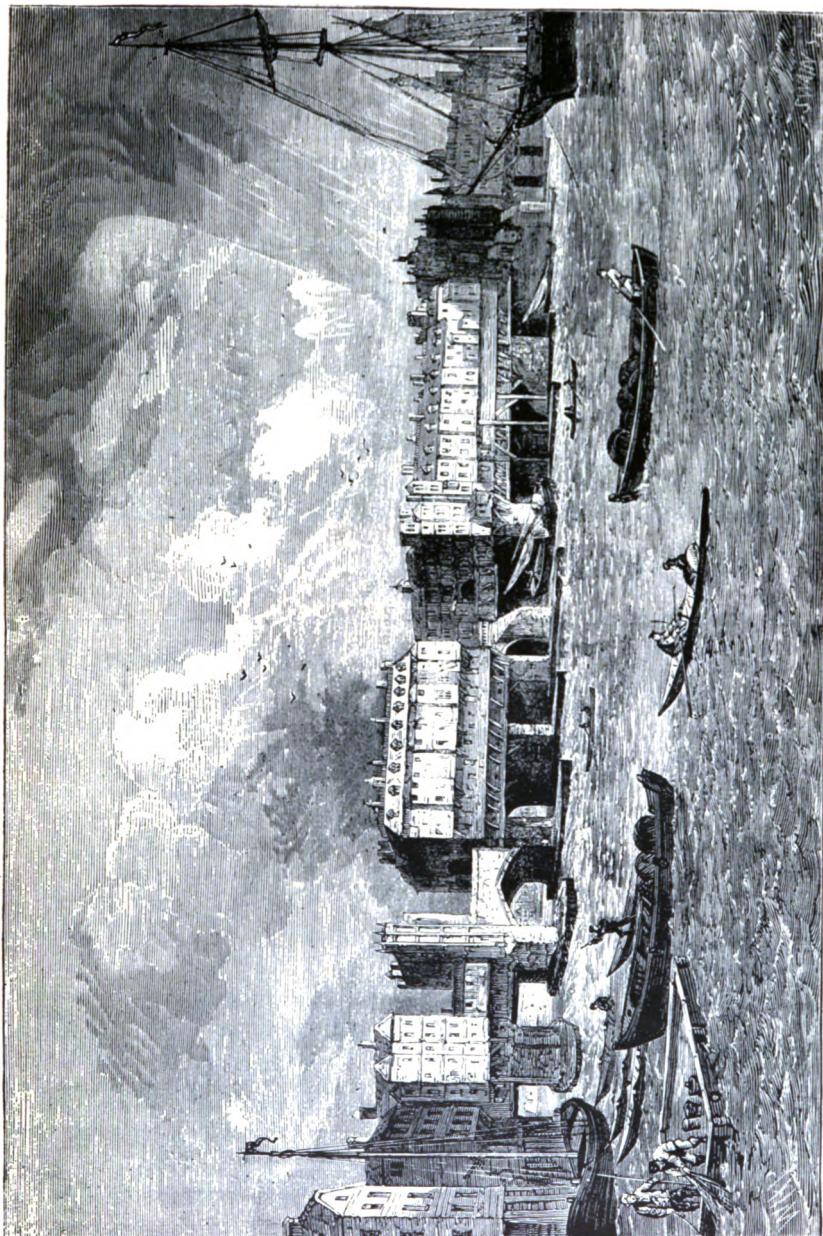


(2) TOWER PIER CONSTRUCTED IN ITS STEAD
The Tower of London is seen in the background.

Face page 153]

LONDON BRIDGE, 1756

From an old view, taken shortly before the demolition of the houses.



[Face page 152]



(1) OLD SWAN PIER JUST ABOVE LONDON BRIDGE
Recently abolished.



(2) TOWER PIER CONSTRUCTED IN ITS STEAD
The Tower of London is seen in the background.

Face page 153]

which had been for some time in the hands of the Queen, was returned to the citizens.

The annual revenue of the Estates is in the neighbourhood of a quarter of a million, but this huge income is no longer devoted to London Bridge alone. The Bridge House Estates are administered by a Committee appointed annually by the Court of Common Council, and this body, rightly regarded as one of the most important of the many activities of the Corporation, not only maintains London Bridge but has built, or acquired, three other great thoroughfares across the river, namely Blackfriars Bridge, Southwark Bridge, and Tower Bridge.

BLACKFRIARS BRIDGE

For centuries there was no bridge over the Thames below Kingston until we came to London Bridge. There were, of course, numerous ferries, and one of them was about where Blackfriars Bridge now stands. An idea of the value of some of the ferries on the Thames may be formed from the circumstance that on the construction of this Bridge the committee of management agreed to invest the Watermen's Company with £13,650 Consolidated Three per cent. Annuities, to satisfy them for the loss of the Sunday ferry at Blackfriars.

By the middle of the eighteenth century the public were getting tired of the ferries, and in 1769 old Blackfriars Bridge was completed from the designs of a clever young Scottish engineer called Mylne. He was an unknown man, and his success against the designs of experienced men brought down upon him the wrath of their friends. One of Mylne's rivals, called Gwynn, was a friend of Dr. Johnson's, and the great doctor thundered against the poor young Scot in print. An unpopular toll of one half-penny on week-days for every person, and of one penny on Sundays, was

exacted. The result of this was that while the Gordon Riots were raging, in 1780, the too zealous Protestants forgetting for a time the poor tormented Papists, attacked and burned down the toll-gates, stole the money, and destroyed all the account-books. Several rascals' lives were lost, and one rioter, being struck with a bullet, ran howling for thirty or forty yards, and then dropped down dead. Nevertheless, the iniquitous toll continued until 1785, when it was redeemed by Government.

The Bridge, according to an order of Common Council, was called Pitt Bridge, and the adjacent streets (in honour of the great Earl) Chatham Place, William Street, and Earl Street. But the association with the great statesman was soon dropped and the Bridge took its present title from the ancient monastery which has given its name to the locality at its northern end.

This Bridge was a great help to traffic over the river, but after nearly a century of use became unsafe and endangered by the project for building the Victoria Embankment.

Blackfriars Bridge was rebuilt at a cost to the Bridge House Estates of £350,000, and the opening ceremony was carried out by Queen Victoria on November 6th, 1869.

Between 1907 and 1909 the Bridge was widened by the Bridge House Estates so as to permit of the London County Council trams running across it.

SOUTHWARK BRIDGE

Early in the last century an attempt was made to exploit the traffic over the Thames by a toll bridge erected by a private company. The Bridge was opened by lamp-light, March 24th, 1819, as the clock of St. Paul's Cathedral tolled midnight. Towards the middle of the western

side of the Bridge used to be a descent from the pavement to a steam-boat pier. The Bridge was worked by the Company until 1865 when an Act of Parliament authorised its sale or transfer to the Corporation at a cost of upwards of a quarter of a million. An arrangement was entered into between the Company and the Corporation freeing the Bridge from toll and its purchase was completed in 1868. At the beginning of the present century the Corporation sought statutory powers to reconstruct the Bridge and improve its approaches, but owing to various causes, including the "disturbances on the Continent" between the years 1914 and 1919 the present fine Bridge was not completed until 1921, when it was opened by his present Majesty, King George V.

THE TOWER BRIDGE

Fifty years ago the congestion of traffic on London Bridge became a matter of notoriety, and the provision of additional means of access between the north and south sides of the river the great traffic problem of the time. The Corporation taking, as it always does, a large view of its responsibilities, decided to accede to the public demand for a new Bridge outside the City boundaries.

Statutory powers were obtained, and the site selected for the new bridge was Irongate Stairs close by the Tower on the north side to Hartley's Wharf, Horsleydown, on the Bermondsey side of the river.

The Bridge met with a good deal of criticism, but is now regarded as a great triumph of engineering skill and an immense boon to the parts of East London which it serves.

It cost more than a million to build, and its maintenance is a heavy charge on the Bridge House Estates.

ST. PAUL'S BRIDGE

Not content with its four great bridges the Corporation obtained parliamentary powers to build a Bridge between Blackfriars and Southwark in 1911. Before the scheme could be proceeded with the Great War put a stop to all such activities, and when the matter was brought up again the new Bridge met with most determined opposition.

The Corporation is now divided into two camps—the “Bridge” Party, or Parties, and the “No Bridge” Party. I think to avoid giving offence to either of these enthusiasts I shall be wise to leave the matter to be discussed by those who have made a special study of a problem which has been held to include danger to the precious fabric of St. Paul's.

The close association of London's Bridges with her ancient Livery Companies is exemplified by the fact that two Bridge-masters are elected with the Sheriffs, Chamberlain and Aleconners every Midsummer Day. The office of Bridge-master is of great antiquity, and in former days when the Lord Mayor and aldermen used to ride in state through our Lady's Fair at Southwark, finishing up the ceremony by a banquet in the Bridge House, it was the privilege of the Bridge-masters to give a supper to the Lord Mayor's officers.

Their prosaic duties to-day consist in inspecting London, Southwark and Blackfriars Bridges and submitting reports to the Bridge House Estates Committee.

It is hardly too much to say that the splendid administration of the great properties of the Bridge House Estates would alone justify the claim of London to be a City State.

Four great Bridges, one of which is entirely outside the City's boundaries, have been built or purchased and

are maintained without costing the ratepayers of London one penny piece.

The ward of Bridge is a small but very important area, as it includes the approaches to the Bridge, the Monument, and the ancient church of St. Magnus. Formerly the church formed a more predominant feature of the ward than it does to-day as the old Bridge was in line with Fish Street Hill and the approach was under the Tower of St. Magnus.

The ancient shrine is commonly believed to have been dedicated to St. Magnus the Good, son of St. Olaf. Mr. Cuthbert Lake says, however, that others have put forward a good claim for St. Magnus, a Roman sub-deacon, who was venerated in England.

The church has absorbed the parishes of St. Margaret's, New Fish Street, and St. Michael's, Crooked Lane, and it is in connection with the latter church that the Worshipful Company of Coopers attend annually to hear the will read of a benefactor, Henry Cloker, who died in 1573.

The church has a remarkable collection of religious and secular plate, including the famous Falstaff Cup and Tobacco Box. These relics of the popular Elizabethan tavern, the "Boar's Head," where Shakespeare's three Falstaff plays may have been produced, are of great interest, as Lake believes that it is not too far fetched to think that this particular cup was probably used by Shakespeare on many occasions.

The church is a great place of pilgrimage for our cousins from the other side of the Atlantic, and Lake says more than one famous American collector of old silver and ancient plate have offered almost fabulous sums for the Elizabethan cup.

There is another reminder of the old tavern to be found in the little graveyard. It is a headstone to Robert Preston "late Drawer of the Boar's Head," who died in 1730, and bears the following verse:—

Bacchus to give the Toping World Surprize
Produced one Sober Son, and here he lies,
Tho nurs'd among full Hogsheads, he defyd
The charms of Wine and ev'ry vice beside,
O Reader, if to Justice thou'rt inclin'd,
Keep Honest Preston daily in thy mind.
He drew good Wine, took care to fill his Pots.
Had sundry virtues that outweigh'd his faults.
You that on Bacchus have the like dependance,
Pray Copy Bob in Measure and Attendance.

CHAPTER XIII

"RUNNING CASHES"

Private credit is wealth; public honour is security.

Letters of Junius.

THE glory of London has been that her gates have been always open wide to men of credit whatever their nationality. In no trade or calling is this more remarkable than in banking, as we have the authority of Hartley Withers for the statement that "nearly all the leading banking firms of the City at the present moment were originally of foreign extraction."

Indeed, if the reader will look at any Bank of England note, he will observe that it is signed by the Chief Cashier for the Governor and "Compa" of the Bank of England.

"Compa" is obviously an abbreviation of the Italian word "Compagnia," used by the Lombards who were the first to keep "running cashes" for the convenience of London's traders.

Up to a late period in the reign of Charles I, the London merchants seem to have deposited their surplus cash in the Mint, the business of which was carried on in the Tower. But when Charles I, "in an agony of impecuniosity," seized like a robber the £200,000 there deposited, calling it a loan, the citizens had to devise a new way of safeguarding their treasure.

As I have shown in *London Livery Companies*, the members of the great Guild of Goldsmiths carried large stocks of the precious metals on their premises, and their arrangements for safeguarding their treasure were so good that the nobility

and gentry began to entrust their surplus cash to the strong coffers of the goldsmiths.

The seventeenth-century Guildsmen then discovered that as their promises to pay passed from hand to hand as equivalent to gold lodged in their strong rooms they might issue promissory notes on the strength of their own good name, backed by the fact that they had behind them the great and powerful Goldsmiths' Company.

There are still in existence two of these old firms of goldsmith bankers.

Messrs. Child & Co., Number 1 Fleet Street, were founded by Captain Sir Francis Child, an apprentice of William Wheeler, a goldsmith banker. Following the best City tradition, Child married his master's daughter, and may be regarded as the father of modern banking. Child & Co. have in their possessing an inventory of jewelry and precious stones sold by them so comparatively recently as 1676.

The Merry Monarch banked here and drew out the thousands which he squandered on wastrels even more worthless than himself.

Nell Gwyn, Pepys, Prince Rupert and the Duchess of Marlborough all had their accounts in this famous establishment, which Dickens has immortalised as "Telson's" in the *Tale of Two Cities*.

He describes the Bank as "the triumphant perfection of inconvenience. After bursting open a door of idiotic obstinacy with a weak rattle in its throat, you fell into Telson's down two steps, and came to your senses in a miserable little shop with two little counters, where the oldest of men made your cheque shake as if the wind rustled it, while they examined the signature by the dingiest of windows, which were always under a shower-bath of mud from Fleet Street, and which were made the dingier by their own iron bars and the heavy shadow of Temple Bar. If your business necessitated your seeing 'the

House,' you were put into a species of Condemned Hold at the back, where you meditated on a mis-spent life, until 'the House' came with its hands in its pockets, and you could hardly blink at it in the dismal twilight."

Doubtless Dickens exaggerated the defects of the old building, which, however, bore little resemblance to the stately structure which now occupies the sites of the old shop and the old tavern.

The other survival of the firms of goldsmith bankers is "Hoare's," only a few doors away from "Child's." One James Hoare kept "running cashes" at the sign of the "Golden Bottle" in Cheapside, and moved to Fleet Street at the end of the seventeenth century.

The "Golden Bottle" is still proudly displayed over the entrance to this famous establishment.

The goldsmiths fell into disfavour towards the end of the seventeenth century, and we find Pepys telling us how he told Mr. Coventry of the complaints which he "met every day about our treasurer's or his people paying no money but at the goldsmiths' shops where they are forced to pay fifteen or sometimes twenty per cent for their money. Nor is it likely that the treasurer (at least his people) will suffer Maywell, the goldsmith, to go away with £10,000 per annum, as he do now get, by making people pay after this manner for their money."

The Bank of England came into existence partly on account of the high rates of interest charged by the goldsmiths, but chiefly to provide William III with a sufficiency of much needed hard cash.

The Bank largely owes its inception to a Scot called William Paterson and an Englishman called Michael Godfrey.

It is interesting now to recall that the institution was for many years a political body.

It stood for the ruling Royal House as against the exiled Stuarts, who would at once have repudiated the debt, and

the Bank of England, knowing that another restoration implied ruin, remained loyal to William, Anne, and George. "It is hardly too much to say," writes Macaulay, "that during many years the weight of the Bank, which was constantly in the scale of the Whigs, almost counterbalanced the weight of the Church, which was as constantly in the scale of the Tories." "Seventeen years after the passing of the Tonnage Bill," says the same eminent writer, to show the reliance of the Whigs on the Bank of England, "Addison, in one of his most ingenious and graceful little allegories, described the situation of the great Company through which the immense wealth of London was constantly circulating. He saw Public Credit on her throne in Grocers' Hall, the Great Charter over her head, the Act of Settlement full in her view. Her touch turned everything to gold. Behind her seat bags filled with coin were piled up to the ceiling. On her right and on her left the floor was hidden by pyramids of guineas. On a sudden the door flies open, the Pretender rushes in, a sponge in one hand, in the other a sword, which he shakes at the Act of Settlement. The beautiful Queen sinks down fainting; the spell by which she has turned all things around her into treasure is broken; the money-bags shrink like pricked bladders; the piles of gold pieces are turned into bundles or rags, or fagots of wooden tallies."

Many stories are told of the early days of the Bank, but not the least interesting relates how Godfrey, the first Deputy Governor, met his death in Flanders in 1695. Godfrey, wishing to flatter William III, took over a consignment of specie and delivered it personally to his Sovereign in the trenches.

He was coldly received by the soldier King who said, "As you are no adventurer in the trade of war, Mr. Godfrey, I think you should not expose yourself to the hazard of it." "Not being more exposed than your Majesty," was the courtly reply, "should I be excusable if I showed more concern?" "Yes," returned William; "I am in

my duty, and therefore have a more reasonable claim to preservation." A cannon-ball at this moment answered the "reasonable claim to preservation" by killing Mr. Godfrey; and it requires no great stretch of imagination to fancy a saturnine smile passing over the countenance of the monarch, as he beheld the fate of the citizen who paid so heavy a penalty for playing the courtier in the trenches of Namur.

The Bank had many difficulties in its early days, and there was great rivalry between the Government institution and the goldsmith bankers.

Walford gives the following account of a conflict of wits between "Child's" and the Bank.

At the beginning of the eighteenth century the practice of bankers was to deliver in exchange for money deposited a receipt, which might be circulated like a modern cheque. Bank-notes were then at a discount; and the Bank of England, jealous of Child's reputation, secretly collected the receipts of their rivals, determined, when they had procured a very large number, suddenly to demand money for them, hoping that Child's would not be able to meet their liabilities. Fortunately for the latter, they got scent of this plot; and in great alarm applied to the celebrated Duchess of Marlborough, who gave them a single cheque of £700,000 on their opponents. Thus armed, Child's waited the arrival of the enemy. It was arranged that this business should be transacted by one of the partners, and that a confidential clerk, on a given signal, should proceed with all speed to the Bank to get the cheque cashed. At last a clerk from the Bank of England appeared, with a full bag, and demanded money for a large number of receipts. The partner was called, who desired him to present them singly. The signal was given; the confidential clerk hurried on his mission; the partner was very deliberate in his movements, and long before he had taken an account of all the receipts, his emissary returned

with £700,000; and the whole amount of £500,000 or £600,000 was paid by Child's in Bank of England notes. In addition to the triumph of this manœuvre, Child's must have made a large sum, from Bank paper being at a considerable discount.

The growth of the modest establishiment housed for so many years in the Old Hall of the Grocers' Company into the great national institution it has now become, is too well known to require more than a passing reference, but I must briefly refer to its five great "rivals"—or should I say "peers"? Taking what are known as the "Big Five" in alphabetical order, I will begin with Barclays Bank, which has an interesting history, as amongst the numerous units of which it is composed is—or rather was—Gosling's Bank, a Quaker firm founded in the first year of the Cominonwealth. Amongst the records of Barclays is preserved a cheque drawn on Goslings in 1708. Lloyds Bank was founded in Birmingham in 1765, and for many years had two headquarters, one in London and the other in Birmingham, but since 1911 the provincial headquarters has been abandoned.

The Midland Bank also hails from Birmingham, and did not come to London till 1891.

Its metropolitan expansion since that year has, however, been phenomenal, and it is now one of the largest banks in the world. Unlike its peers, the Midland does not carry on business except in Home Territory, and true to this policy when Southern Ireland became the Irish Free State, disposed of the branches outside Ulster of the Belfast Banking Company which it had acquired in 1917. The National Provincial is another of the "Big Five" which came to London from the country. One of the private banks which the "N.P." has absorbed takes its origin from the same period as the "Old Lady of Threadneedle Street" herself. This business was known as Smith's Bank, and was founded at Nottingham as far

back as 1688 by Thomas Smith, an enterprising draper.

In those days the country roads were infested by highwaymen who often relieved the farmers of the money realized at the Nottingham fairs and markets by the sale of their cattle and produce. Smith, who had a high reputation for honesty, induced the farmers to deposit their cash with him, guaranteeing its safe custody until they required it.

The idea caught on, and Smith's shop became the depository for a large amount of the local farmers' ready money; the astute draper did not allow this capital to lie idle, but employed it in discounting bills for his brother drapers in Nottingham and Lancashire. This business was of course very profitable, and Smith was soon able to allow interest on his deposits so that he was able to give up selling cloth and blossom forth as a banker.

The last of the "Big Five" to be referred to—again, I insist, in alphabetical order only—is the Westminster, which is—as its name implies—a metropolitan institution in contrast with no less than three of its brethren, who owe so much to their provincial origins.

The London and Westminster was founded in 1834 as a direct challenge to the monopoly of the Bank of England, and until comparatively recently functioned only in London and the Home Counties.

The original company was a great success from the outset, and in 1909 amalgamated with a similar institution, the London and County. In 1918 the combined banks followed the example of their rivals and absorbed a great provincial institution, Parr's Bank, which was founded at Warrington in 1782.

Only two private banks have survived the appetite for absorption of their big brothers. Hoare's Bank has been already referred to; the other great private bank is Glyn, Mills & Co. This firm was originally founded in 1740,

and amalgamated with another old bank, Currie & Co. in 1864.

Currie & Co. seems to have a romantic history, as it was founded in 1773 to replace a business of which Fordyce, a hosier from Aberdeen, was the principal.

It would seem from the history of Smith's and Currie's banks that the dealers in "soft goods" began to supplant the goldsmiths in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries as keepers of "running cashes."

Glyn Mills, like Hoare's, however, preserve the great traditions of the goldsmith bankers, as in 1924 they absorbed the honoured name of "Child" to which I have already referred.

There is nothing more remarkable in the history of the City than this story of its "running cashes." The goldsmiths started the idea, the Bank of England placed it on a national basis, and private banks, all over the country, carried on the good work.

All the English banks have, however, gravitated to the City of London and, wherever started, they have now their headquarters within the Square Mile.

The Bank of England is splendidly housed on the most valuable site in the Empire, and its peers, the Big Five, have now palatial homes which rival the "Old Lady's" palace, whilst private British banks and branches of foreign houses provide delightful architectural adornment for the wards of Broad Street, Langbourne, and indeed every part of the Square Mile. Not the least of the claims of the City to its sovereign status is the fact that it is the acknowledged financial capital of not merely the Empire, but of the world.

CHAPTER XIV

THE CITY AND THE SWORD

God give us Peace! not such as lulls to sleep,
But sword on thigh and brow with purpose knit!
And let our Ship of State to harbour sweep,
Her ports all up, her battle lanterns lit,
And her leashed thunders gathering for their leap.

LOWELL.

Justice is greater than Peace.

—LORD LLOYD.

FROM the earliest times London has always been ready to assume the role of "a City in arms."

"It was," says Sir Laurence Gomme, "as a city in arms that it attacked Hengist and Aesc at Crayford; thus it met the attacks of the Danes; thus it took its share in the great struggle at Hastings under its own sheriff, Ansgar; it was under this influence that King Stephen mustered the men of London and that a section of the army of the barons in 1264 was composed of Londoners; that the well-known gathering under Wat Tyler took place at Mile End; that the organised forces of the city under Henry VIII were gathered there according to "ancient custom"; and that the city in arms marched to Newbury led to battle by the city chiefs."

The strategical importance of the City, from the fateful events of A.D. 61 to the days of the Civil War, was always recognised,—as Mr. Belloc has so usefully shown in his *Warfare in England*—by the Roman military system, by the great Anglo-Saxon kings, by the Danes, by William the Norman, by the later military commanders during the Wars of the Roses, and during the Civil War.

"The magnates of London," says Besant, "from generation to generation showed far more wisdom, tenacity and clearness of vision that can be found in the annals of Venice, Genoa, or any other medieval city. Above all things they maintained the city liberties and rights obtained from successive Kings, yet they were always loyal so long as loyalty was possible; when that was no longer possible, as in the case of Richard II, they threw the whole weight of their wealth and influence into the other side. If fighting was wanted, they were ready to send their youths to fight—nay, to join the army themselves."

Military titles are enjoyed by several aldermen who have passed the Chair, and although these ranks are mostly honorary they serve as a reminder of the days when the aldermen led their troops in battle and the citizens of London played a mighty part in the defence of the realm. In the days of the Commonwealth the men who guided the City in peace were the same men who led it in war. "The men who stood to arms," insists Gomme, "were the citizens, not the riff-raff of the city, not the hired soldiers of the city."

I have sketched in *London's Livery Companies* the gradual development of our national forces from the Anglo-Saxon *fyrd* to the standing army called into existence by the Long Parliament.

During this long period the City had always her own armed forces which were ever ready to march out for the defence of the nation or to uphold the sovereign rights of free citizens.

The military annals of the City are one long record of troops supplied to sovereign after sovereign. The Livery Companies supplied their quota on each demand for money and men, and it was mainly through drawing on the Guilds that the City was able to satisfy the insatiable thirst for overseas expeditions displayed by the Plantagenet kings.

The Tudor sovereigns had no desire to engage in foreign

LIBERTATIS·ET IVSTITIE·BELLONA DEFENSOR



Banquet at Guildhall

on Tuesday November 9: 1915.

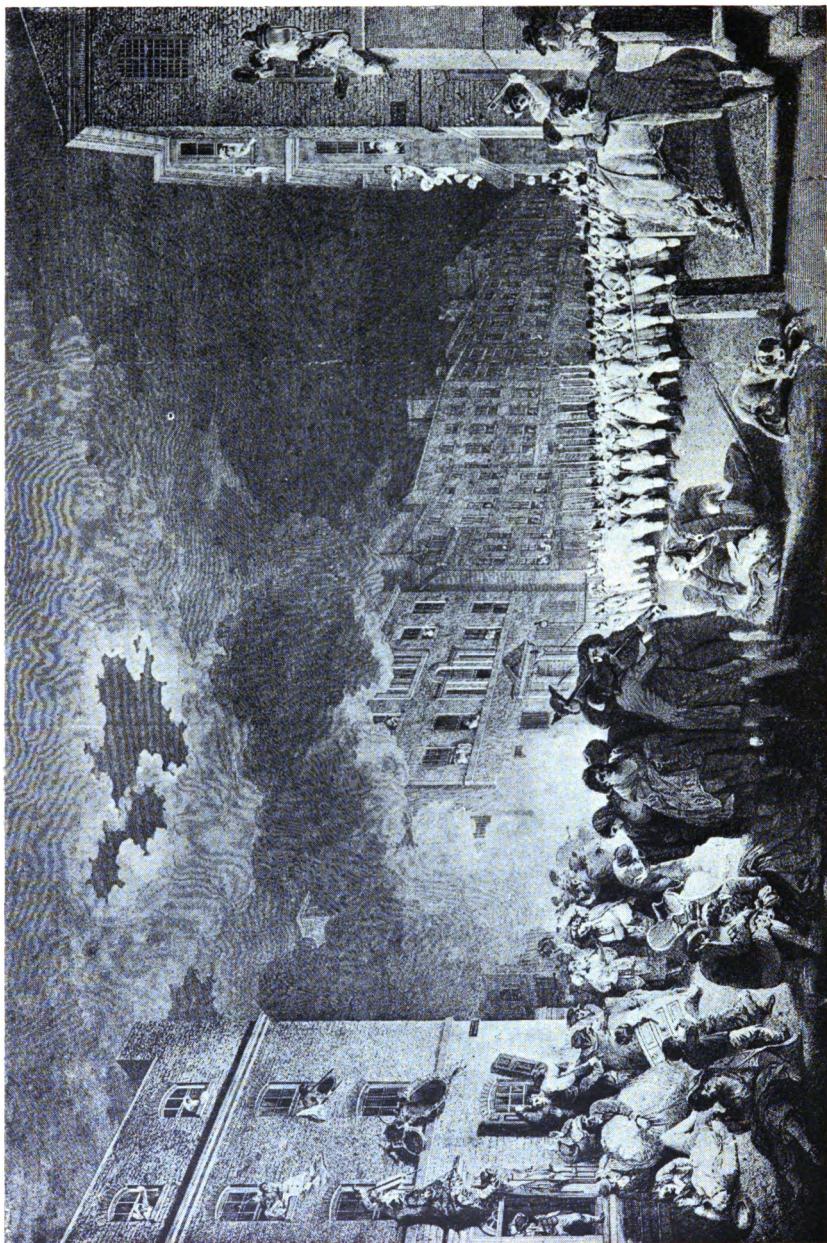
LORD MAYOR.

The Rt Hon. Colonel Sir Charles Chere's Wakefield, Bart.
George Alexander Touche, Esq., M.P. Alderman
Samuel George Shead, Esq.

Sheriffs.

Chairman,
Bernard Partridge.

THE CITY AND THE GREAT WAR
Invitation Card to Lord Mayor's Banquet, November 9th, 1915.



THE GORDON RIOTS, 1780.
The H.A.C. and the London Military Foot Association in Broad Street, June 7th, 1780.

wars, but were compelled to raise large bodies of troops to deal with the menace of foreign invasion.

Queen Elizabeth introduced a form of military service to meet the needs of the time, and the City threw itself whole-heartedly into the formation of regiments for home defence called Train Bands. These Train Bands were the predecessors of the citizen soldiers who have played such an important part in later wars. The Bands played an important part in the struggle between King and Parliament, and although there is evidence that they were better trained in the metropolis than elsewhere, they were not of course peculiar to London. As might be expected, however, the City, so unique in other ways, developed a military formation quite unlike any other fighting unit in the country.

The City is the birthplace of a regiment compared with which the King's Guards are but things of yesterday, and which is certainly the oldest armed force in England, if not in Europe. The very name of this great regiment, the Honourable Artillery Company, signifies its antiquity, for the term "Company" recalls the days when the Company was the largest military formation known.

It was not, indeed, till the seventeenth century that larger bodies of troops, known as regiments, began to be organized.

The genesis of the Honourable Artillery Company is lost in the mists of antiquity. It obtained its first charter from Henry VIII, but it was already old and famous. Its legendary origin goes back to the reign of William Rufus in the eleventh century, when city merchants who had seen service in continental wars banded themselves together as the "Gentlemen of the Artillery Garden of London."

Artillery in ancient times did not refer only to weapons fired by explosives, but also to "Longbowes" and "Crossbowes," and archery was the original activity of the Company.

It is asserted that its bowmen fought at Crécy and other

medieval battles, but the Company seems to have from its inception exercised the character of what we would now call an Officers Training Corps.

The Company was first accommodated in the Old Artillery Ground off Bishopsgate—the original lease, dated 1538, was discovered in 1931. In 1641 the Corporation Fathers leased to the Company its present ground, then the “uppermost field in Finsbury.”

It is not surprising to find that such a regiment cherishes unique traditions. Some of its members fought in the wars of Henry VIII; others in the last defence of Calais.

The regiment attended the funeral of Sir Philip Sidney, and its members rallied in readiness to repel the Spanish Armada. During the Commonwealth some of its citizen soldiers served the Parliament, whilst others fought with distinction on the Royalist side.

The Company marched in the funeral of Oliver Cromwell, and welcomed Charles II at the Restoration.

But always the grand old corps has remained abreast of the times. The Gentlemen of the Artillery Garden first cast aside their longbows for muskets and pikes; and later on discarded the pike for the bayonet. When the army first adopted the rifle the Company promptly followed suit.

And so this amazing survival of a band of London archers has always remained not only a fighting force to be reckoned with, but a recruiting depot with immense power of expansion within itself.

In the Great War “the Company” sent and maintained five batteries and two battalions on active service, besides supplying over four thousand officers for other units. The Regiment won forty-two battle honours, and its Roll of Honour contains 1,760 names.

To-day its establishment is two batteries of Horse Artillery and one battalion of Infantry. Each evening the walls of Armoury House resound to words of command, the tramp of disciplined feet and the clang of breech-blocks.

The Company has enjoyed Royal favour ever since the Restoration, and the King is its Captain-General.

Almost alone amongst military formations to-day, the H.A.C. enjoys a beautiful permanent home and splendid playing fields. It is little wonder that with its fascinating history there is never any lack of recruits for His Majesty's oldest regiment.

The City provided a contingent to the first standing army, but, devoted as it was to the Parliamentary cause, the City must have viewed with some suspicion the development of a permanent force of paid troops, and the Restoration found the City anxious to get back to citizen soldiers.

When William of Orange came over he found the city merchants ready and willing to help him with money and men.

City merchants, including my ancestor, Sir Richard Blackham, clothed soldiers for the King's Expeditionary Force to Ireland and provided galleys for swift running across the Channel with men and supplies for his army in Flanders.

Disaster did not discourage the City, for the Common Council voted a loan of no less than £200,000 to strengthen the King's Navy after the shameful defeat of Admiral Torrington by the French off Beachy Head in 1690.

In the days of the last of the Stuarts, the Court of Aldermen was ordered to impress a force of a thousand men, and no doubt did so, and a subscription was set on foot for raising £250,000 to help Prince Eugene who played such an important part in assisting Marlborough to win the Battle of Blenheim. The popularity of this flotation was so great that £160,000 was raised the first day.

During this period the Train Bands continued in existence, and when, in 1745, Volunteer Corps were formed London again led the way.

In 1757 the passing of the Militia Act gave London the opportunity of re-organizing the famous City Militia, and

in 1782 we find the Court of Common Council voting £5,000 for placing it on a proper footing. The City Militia battalions remained embodied throughout the Seven Years' War, and the old constitutional force acquitted itself so well that in 1794 it absorbed the old Train Bands. In the same year a battalion of infantry and a troop of cavalry was formed called the Loyal London Volunteers, and when, four years later, the nation was threatened by invasion by Napoleon, an Act was passed authorizing Armed Associations.

The military ardour of the Square Mile was evidenced by the formation of the London Military Association. This formation appears to have been a well-organized body, as during the Gordon Riots it was considered good enough to co-operate with the Honourable Artillery Company. Both the Association and the Company saw active service during the disturbance, as they actually fired on the mob in Broad Street!

At the end of the riots the London Association came into conflict with the military authorities, who claimed that "no person can bear arms in this country except under the command of officers holding the King's commission."

The Association flatly refused to surrender their arms and their action seems to have been upheld by the Court of Common Council, as we find this body acknowledging the services of the Association at Grocers' Hall Court. The Court was full of military enthusiasm in those far-off days, as we find in 1797 the warlike Councilmen resolved to form Ward Associations for the defence of the City against the mutineers of the Nore.

Only one ward association—the Cornhill Military Association—was actually formed, and there is fortunately an excellent old print of the Corps parading in front of old Leathersellers' Hall.

Meanwhile the City Volunteers became so strong that in 1799 King George III, accompanied by no less than four royal dukes, inspected the various units which paraded at

Blackfriars, St. Paul's, the Bank, the Royal Exchange and on Tower Hill. The Lord Mayor and Sheriffs were mounted on this occasion, and the viceroy of the City had for his military escort the Grenadiers of the East Regiment of London Militia.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century the military enthusiasm of the City reached red heat. In 1803 the Common Council voted two field pieces to the Loyal London Cavalry. Eight hundred men were supplied for the army reserve, ten battalions of volunteers and a cavalry corps were organized, and the defence of the Port strengthened by River Fencibles and Harbour Marines.

Alas! the victory of Waterloo and the long period of peace which followed it was accompanied by the usual neglect of military preparations, and it was not till 1859 that there was any revival of the City in arms.

In that year, however, Louis Napoleon was more than suspected of a desire to invade England, and the Volunteer Movement was resurrected.

Over a hundred thousand citizen soldiers were enrolled in the first six months, and of course, London units predominated.

At first the ignorant neglect of the War Office left the Force poorly trained and little organized, but this time the citizen soldiers were destined to remain a permanent part of the military machine, as in 1871 the enlightened Cardwell incorporated both the Militia and Volunteers into a new army system in which they formed battalions in territorial regiments formed from the old numbered infantry of the line.

The new Force had to wait for nearly thirty years for its baptism by fire, when the South African War gave the Volunteer Forces their first great chance of active service.

The City seized the opportunity with both hands and the Corporation and Livery Companies promptly organized the City Imperial Volunteers, consisting of a Battery of Field

Artillery, two companies of mounted infantry and an infantry battalion.

These military efforts of the citizens were all noteworthy, but they were to fade into insignificance when compared with the achievements of the City in arms during the Great War, which were so stupendous that they must be reserved for a separate chapter.

Here we must pass to consider briefly the great and imperishable associations of the City and the Navy.

It would not be too much to say that the Port of London has been not only the birthplace, but the nursery of the fighting ships which have made, and still maintain England, as the greatest sea power of the world.

The galleys of Rome used the Thames as their headquarters, and Alfred the Great employed London as the principal base for his fleets. Men-at-arms from Saxon ships which Harold had foolishly demobilized fought the Norman invaders at Hastings, and under the Plantagenet Kings a dockyard and magazine were established at the Tower of London. The City provided ships and crews for various overseas expeditions organized by her earlier sovereigns, but, not content with that, the viceroy of the City has on occasion been ready to organize his own fleet and put to sea as its Admiral.

In the time of Richard II, when the Crown was unable to protect our commerce against a Scottish pirate in the North Sea, a gallant grocer, Sir John Philpot, equipped a squadron of fighting ships at his own expense, manned them with Thames watermen, and not only succeeded in defeating the pirates but also a number of Spanish vessels which had joined in their depredations.

The amateur admiral brought back the Scotch and Spanish ships in triumph to the Thames.

It is not without reason, therefore, that the Lord Mayor is Admiral of the Port of London.

Under the Tudor sovereigns, and especially their beloved

Elizabeth, the City was ever ready to provide ships and men. For example, of the fleet which sailed out to meet the Spanish Armada no less than thirty craft were provided by the City of London.

Indeed until the last century London was the great centre of naval shipbuilding.

From Drake to Nelson, the great sea captains of England sailed the Flag of St. George to victory on ships not only built on London's river but manned by London men.

Practically the whole of Nelson's fleet at the Nile was built on the Thames, and no less than eleven of the glorious craft which fought at Trafalgar came from London dock-yards.

London provided not only the ships but the men at this great victory, for one-seventh of the total personnel engaged and nearly one-fifth of the crew of the *Victory* were Londoners born.

The spirit of the old sea rovers still lives in the Cockney's heart, for London is to-day the greatest recruiting centre for the Royal Navy.

The Corporation has ever been willing to give practical help to the Navy, and has provided more than one battleship at its own cost. A book has been written about the Londoners of the British Fleet, and to-day a fine cruiser of the County class bears the City's name over the Seven Seas.

Nelson, Blake and Frobisher sleep within the City's boundaries, and the spirits of these and many another sea captain when they revisit the Thames—which every sailor loves—must see with pride that the City still enshrines the headquarters of London's citizen sailors, and that there are still thousands of civilians whose heart's desire is to sail under the White Ensign.

CHAPTER XV

THE GREAT WAR

"Young Men of Famous London Town:

"Your comrades have gone forth to fight in their thousands. Their names shine bright on the Roll of Fame. Ypres, Neuve Chapelle, and Loos, tell the tale of their imperishable glory. The names of many also are on that other Roll, the Roll of Honour. We must fill the gaps. We must keep the ranks full. It is the business of every citizen of London to help. I have opened our Mansion House, and will be there every day to welcome those who offer themselves to the service of their King and country. Come and do your duty. You will be received as worthy sons of our ancient City. Your comrades from the trenches call you. Hear and obey their call!"

WAKEFIELD, *Mayor.*

"THE ancient City of London, illustrious alike in its history and by the efforts of its enterprising citizens, has ever been foremost in responding to the call of duty and devotion to the interests of the Empire, and I feel certain that its future will not belie its glorious past."

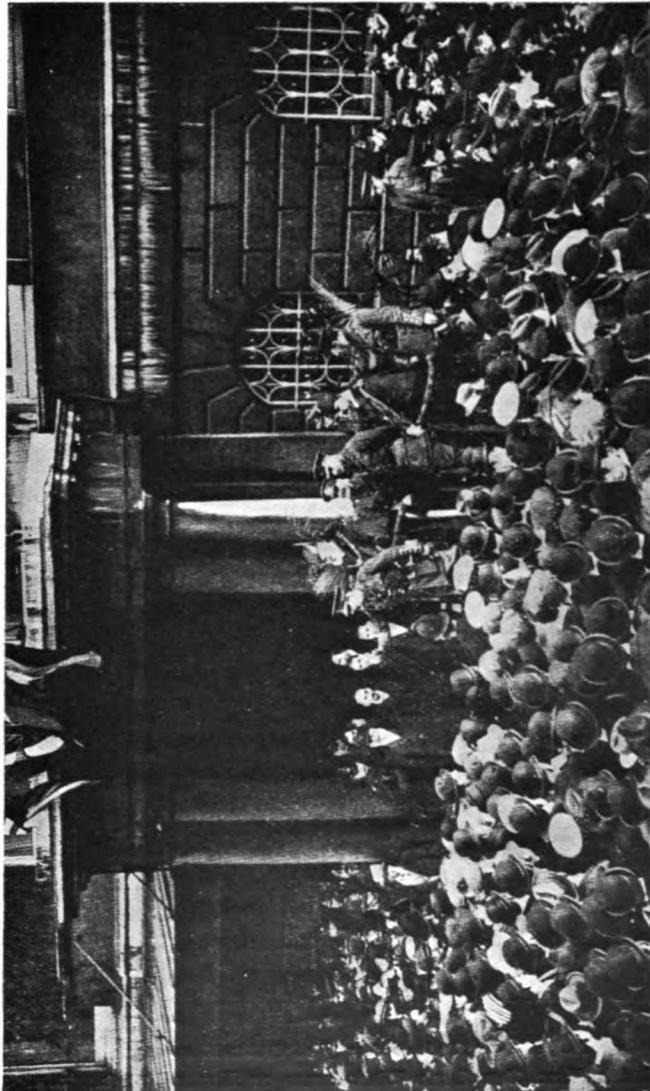
These stirring words from the lips of a great Sovereign who loved the City, were amply justified a very few years after Edward the Peacemaker passed away.

Throughout the centuries the City has loved peace and hated war. We have seen the City refusing supplies to the Government and even pleading for peace, when not satisfied that the nation's quarrel was just. But when satisfied that war was forced on the country by an arrogant foe the City, as King Edward said, has been ever foremost in responding to the call of duty.

History repeated itself in the tragic years of 1914 to

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A RECRUITING MEETING OUTSIDE THE MANSION HOUSE, 1916





[By kind permission of Mr. John Lane, *The Bodley Head*, from "Bridewell Hospital," by E. G. O'Donohue
THE RIGHT HON. THE LORD WAKEFIELD OF HYTHE, C.B.E., LL.D.
President of the Royal Hospitals of Bridewell and Bethlem.

Face page 177]

1918, and London led the Empire in supplying men and money to carry on the titanic struggle.

I have tried in *London's Livery Companies* to show the work of the Companies in those days of stress. All the Guilds gave blood and treasure, and some of the Minor Liveries adapted their peace activities to strange new uses. There are Guilds that have long been associated with the profession of arms, but one hardly associated the Plumber, the Tallow Chandler, the Broderer and the Gardener with war work. Nevertheless, they all found something useful to do in the time of their country's need.

Here I will try to carry on the story by briefly outlining the way in which succeeding Lord Mayors and the great Courts of Aldermen and Common Council threw themselves whole-heartedly into the prosecution of the war.

The first outstanding action of the Corporation was to place the Foreign Cattle Market at Deptford at the disposal of the Government.

It was promptly accepted, as it offered unique facilities for the distribution of stores to our armies in every part of the world.

This was but an earnest of what was to come.

Six Lord Mayors held office during the memorable years 1914 to 1918. Each of these distinguished men seems to have been chosen by Providence to be viceroy of the City during the years when the Nation and the Empire were literally fighting for existence. Their Mayoralties marked distinct phases in the great struggle, and each in turn was just the type of man to lead the citizens during the special conditions which prevailed when he held the reins of government in the capital of that legendary El Dorado of the trenches—"Blighty."

Sir Vansittart Bowater was on a State visit to Brussels at the end of July, and had the first news of the grave international situation, at Dieppe on August 1st, on his return journey.

He was just the man to be at the Mansion House in the early days of war. Cheery, debonair and popular, he inspired everyone with hope and confidence, and threw himself whole-heartedly into the task of helping the Government, not only by gifts, but by keeping a bold front to the world.

As head of the Lieutenancy, he placed Finsbury Barracks at the disposal of the War Office for recruiting, and as early as August 23rd, when the 10th Service Battalion of the Royal Fusiliers mustered to the number of 1,156 in the Temple Gardens and marched to the Tower, the Lord Mayor administered the Oath of Allegiance to the Battalion *en masse*.

The City Branch of the British Red Cross Society got to work at once and was accommodated at Guildhall.

In this relation one of the first to offer a new hospital was Sir Charles Wakefield, who, through the Lord Mayor, placed his home at Hythe at the disposal of the War Office Admiralty, or British Red Cross Society, to provide a hospital of one hundred beds for wounded soldiers or sailors.

The Sheriffs, true to their old military traditions, sprang to arms, and one of the first Sheriffs, Sir John Humphery, took up full military service, whilst his colleague, Deputy Painter, carried on by himself.

On September 4th, 1914, a great meeting was held at Guildhall to inaugurate the campaign in furtherance of Lord Kitchener's Recruiting Scheme, at which members both of the Government and the Opposition addressed an audience representing the financial and commercial life of London. The events of the first month of the War—the retreat from Mons, the battle of Le Cateau, the sieges of Liège and Antwerp, the occupation of Brussels and the sack of Louvain—had created profound anxiety. The Prime Minister, Mr. Asquith, took the opportunity of speaking a message of encouragement which had an instant effect in steadying public opinion. He was followed by Mr. Bonar Law, Mr. Balfour, and Mr. Churchill, whose presence on the

same platform was designed to show that political differences would not be allowed to hinder the successful prosecution of the War.

It was not without cause that at the close of Sir Vansittart's Mayoralty the Livery congratulated the City on having in his great office one whose loyalty, courage and devotion was so admirably exhibited by adding fresh City Battalions to the Army, affording increased precautions for the maintenance of law and order in the Metropolis, and the relief of the distress caused by the hostilities.

Sir Charles Johnston came to office at a period marked with fresh enthusiasm, willingness for sacrifice and the sinking of differences in common aims. He was described by the Recorder of the period as a silent man, and he was indeed a man not likely to be over-elated by success or depressed by failure.

His Mayoralty was marked by many notable events.

On May 19th, 1915, the Prime Minister again appeared at Guildhall at an Imperial Patriotic Meeting, under the auspices of the Central Committee for National Patriotic Organisations. On this occasion the solidarity of the Empire was emphasised by the choice of speakers representing the Dominions of Australia, New Zealand, Canada and South Africa.

Five weeks later the Prime Minister intimated that he wished to speak in Guildhall in support of the War Loan and National Economy, and at short notice a great meeting was convened for June 29th, 1915, extensive advertising being undertaken by the Lord Mayor and Corporation. So great was the interest aroused that overflow meetings were held in the forecourt of Guildhall.

The heavy casualties suffered by Lord Kitchener's Voluntary Armies rendered necessary an intensified recruiting campaign. A meeting was organised at Guildhall, on July 19th, 1915, in order to give Lord Kitchener the opportunity of making a national appeal.

Not the least striking of the ways in which the City adapted itself to the needs of the time, was the manner in which the ancient pageantry of the Lord Mayor's Show was utilised for recruiting.

The first War Lord Mayor's Day was marked by the first of the dignified military and naval spectacles which became a feature of these age-old processions during succeeding years.

All troops on active service and the various Territorial regiments, who were its only units as yet fit to take part in ceremonial marches, were represented. A place was found for cadet battalions formed of young lads who were later on to see service themselves.

Notable amongst these at this time was a detachment of Sir Charles Wakefield's Regiment—the Imperial Cadet Yeomanry.

During the year 1915 the National Guard, Corps of Citizens, and several service battalions, notably the Bankers' Battalion, 26th Royal Fusiliers, came into existence. The Bankers' Battalion was afterwards known as the Lord Mayor's Battalion, sharing that distinction with the 10th Battalion already referred to.

The inauguration of recruiting bands was also a feature of this Mayoralty, and over a million pounds was collected for relief of distress in Belgium.

The assumption of the Mayoralty by Sir Charles Wakefield marked a very serious period of the War. Hitherto there had been a revival of the old national spirit of daring and adventure, and the duration of the War was looked upon as being merely a matter of weeks or months. By the autumn of 1915 the nation had realised the immensity of the task which confronted it.

Perhaps not unnaturally the citizens were disappointed at the poor returns for the heavy expenditure of blood and treasure, and recruiting had become a real difficulty. The Empire, no less than the City, was lucky in having Sir

Charles Wakefield as Lord Mayor in those critical days. He was convinced beyond question of the justice of the Allied Cause, and he wielded an immense influence over a wide circle of friends, acquaintances and admirers all over the world. His temperament was sanguine, and he had the knack of inspiring others with his own optimism and cheerfulness. Unlike his predecessor, he was no silent man, but a ready speaker, with the gift of rapidly sensing the feelings of his audience and marshalling his facts in a simple and direct style which went straight to the hearts of his hearers.

Sir Charles felt that divine guidance was necessary to secure the successful prosecution of a righteous war, and on the day of his accession to office, Lord Mayor's Day 1915, he established a notable precedent by halting his procession at St. Paul's Cathedral to attend a short service.

Inspired by this early dedication of his high office to the national cause, he felt that the God of Battles was fighting for the nations who honoured their obligations, so that it is little wonder that we find the outstanding features of Lord Mayor Wakefield's year of office so numerous that it is impossible to enumerate them, but the one which will be remembered best is his great Mansion House Recruiting Scheme.

The new viceroy was dissatisfied with the methods of recruiting hitherto adopted, and decided that he himself as Lord Mayor of London would be the City's chief recruiting officer. He himself would appeal to the citizens, and his appeal should be consonant with the ancient spirit of London. So on January 10th he had the walls of the City covered with placards bearing the stirring words which I have placed at the head of this chapter.

Nothing could have been better than the allusion in the opening sentence to "Famous London Town." It sent the thoughts back to the Train Bands of old, and recalled memories of the doughty deeds of the citizens of those days.

No less happy was the inspiration of referring to the

"comrades at the Front." A bond of union was established instanter. The attention of the young men was aroused, their enthusiasm kindled, and their ready response assured. It remained but to speak of the "Roll of Fame," and then, in a few short staccato sentences, to drive the point home by invoking the sons of the City to show themselves worthy of the fine heritage upon which they had entered, and to respond as one man to the call of their comrades from the trenches. The appeal of the pen was followed by personal appeals from the balcony of the Mansion House.

The effect was instantaneous. Recruits poured into the Mansion House day after day until the rooms assigned for attestation were crowded out. One of the military officers engaged in the work said to a representative of the Press:

"We have beaten all records for City recruiting, and are doing better and better every day. Recognising that the time of City men is precious, we are doing all we can to pass the recruits quickly. The other day we managed to get one man through, including attestation and medical examination, in nine minutes. The Lord Mayor is personally supervising everything, and the Long Parlour, large though it is, has proved inadequate for our requirements. Other apartments have been pressed into the service, and the Lord Mayor has told us that he is prepared to give up every part of the Mansion House so long as we leave him a bedroom."

This was the first occasion on which a Lord Mayor of London had donned the uniform and streamers of the Bully Bully Sergeant to rally the "young men of famous London Town" to fight for King and Country, and the Press acclaimed Sir Charles in his new role as Bully Bully Sergeant saying he should go down in history so designated. No prouder title could any man in these days wish to bear.

Lord Derby at the Mansion House declared that the Lord Mayor had been "a Godsend to the War Office" by

his recruiting in the City. "With great generosity, Sir Charles Wakefield took upon himself a responsibility and an expense which the Government ought to have assumed. The Lord Mayor carried it through with an effectiveness that no Government could surpass, and few could equal. He thanked the Lord Mayor for that assistance, and hoped that peace would be restored before the expiration of his term of office."

Lord Kitchener, writing from the War Office under date of November 2nd, 1915, bore testimony to the great assistance Sir Charles Wakefield had rendered in organising the youth of the nation in training, discipline, and moral control.

Later on, alas! it was Lord Mayor Wakefield who had the melancholy duty of announcing the death of Lord Kitchener. He had the privilege of inaugurating a Mansion House Fund as a national memorial to him, as a result of which a very large capital sum has been devoted to the provision of annual scholarships for the sons of ex-service men.

Having discharged his great task of getting recruits for the Army, this great Lord Mayor turned his attention to the Empire, seizing every opportunity to show courtesy to the representatives of the British Dominions beyond the seas. "I had the feeling," he said, "that the City of London should make itself the home of all the statesmen of the Empire. I believed that London would be better for their presence, and that they would be better for the traditions of the ancient City. I have a tremendous faith in the spiritual value of a common centre. I am sure that no man can come into the City of London from Canada, or Australasia, or South Africa, without feeling that there is an indestructible strength in English character. Everything about him is like a page from the history book he learned at school, and yet nothing there suggests a ruin of the past or a mouldering memorial of ancient days. Everything in the City of London is living; and everything

he sees is just a link in a chain one end of which he himself is carrying in his own hands."

In his own words, Sir Charles made himself "the voice and hand-shake of famous London Town."

It is impossible, as I have said, to do justice to Lord Mayor Wakefield's ceaseless activities, but I must mention that he was untiring in his efforts on behalf of the Belgian refugees, the Red Cross, and indeed every branch of war work. He was indefatigable in his devotion to the soldiers of the Overseas Dominions, going to visit them in their camps and clubs, and in their hospitals and convalescent homes. This devotion had its main cause in a perfectly disinterested admiration for gallant men; but it was governed by a sense of duty. He believed that in going to see these men as the Lord Mayor of London he was doing something to bring home to individuals a sense of British unity; and that was the heart of his Imperialism. "We are one family," he said; "our memories and our ideals are the same; if an Australian or a Canadian doesn't feel at home in the City of London there's something wrong with us."

A memorable, indeed a unique, expression of gratitude for this Imperial service came from the Dominions at the conclusion of Sir Charles Wakefield's Mayoralty, all the High Commissioners uniting in a letter of gratitude and congratulation.

In view of the devoted interest which London has always taken in the King's Navy, and the Lord Mayor's unique position as Admiral of the Port of London, it was but appropriate that Sir Charles should pay a visit to the splendid fellows who kept the White Ensign supreme on the Seven Seas. Sir Charles was the guest of Admiral of the Fleet Lord Jellicoe on his flagship the *Iron Duke*, and the Senior Service appreciated this presence of the Lord Mayor just as highly as the troops did his visits to them on French and Belgian Fronts. It is interesting to recall that

my own Division, the 23rd, was near the part of the line held by the 56th Division, and that I heard at first hand of the very good impression created by His Lordship's visit to the London battalions.

Towards the end of his year Sir Francis Lloyd, then commanding the Home District, paid an eloquent tribute to the appreciation by soldiers of the devotion of Sir Charles to their interests during his year as Lord Mayor. Sir Francis said when Sir Charles looked back on his year of office and counted the many great and good deeds which he had done, there would be none that would give him greater satisfaction than the cordiality which existed between him and the soldiers of all ranks, who owed him a deep debt of gratitude which would never be forgotten.

In the busy activities of this great man time was even found for Freemasonry, and the City National Guard Lodge was consecrated soon after Sir Charles took office.

In short, one may summarise Lord Wakefield's War services in the following words: He shook off from London a mood that was making for dullness and war-weariness. He gave to the City a sense of its duty and a sense of its power. And having done this, merely by discharging his duties with real earnestness, he saw his work spreading throughout the whole country. London took the lead in the nation's life. *London roused the cities and towns of England to greater activity.* He had worked for one city, but *he had touched the civic life of the whole nation.*

During his Lord Mayor's Procession—which included contingents of men home on short leave from the trenches, captured German guns, detachments of cadets, Overseas troops and City Territorials—recruiting meetings were held prior to the arrival of the Procession at a number of points, and it was arranged that recruits should fall in and march immediately in rear of the Guard Detachments.

Undoubtedly the great body of troops of all arms, from the young cadets to the veterans fresh from the firing

line, made a strong emotional appeal as each detachment swung by to the tune of "Land of Hope and Glory."

The Lord Mayor in his gilded coach, surrounded by his great escort of soldiers and sailors, appealed to the public imagination as a symbol of the solidarity of an Empire devoted to peace but roused to arms by a righteous cause.

There was a strong movement during the latter part of Sir Charles Wakefield's Mayoralty to induce him to take another year of office, but it is not surprising that even his boundless energy was exhausted by the end of September, and he definitely declined to stand.

He was succeeded by Sir William Dunn.

To follow a Lord Mayor of such personal popularity and outstanding ability was a difficult task, so it has been well said that Sir William Dunn was content with the quiet performance of the duties of his office and devoted himself earnestly to the question of War Savings, food economy, and air raid warnings.

During his year Guildhall was again the scene, on January 11th, 1917, of the launching of another War Loan, when the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Bonar Law, explained in detail to an audience of business men the conditions under which the Loan was being issued. He was followed by the Prime Minister, who reviewed the general situation, political and military, and made an urgent appeal for economy.

A few days later the Court of Common Council subscribed £2,000,000, in addition to stock converted, to the War Loan, and a great campaign to further the Loan was opened by the Lord Mayor at the Mansion House, which resulted in a substantial increase in the number of City investors.

It was very appropriate that the fifth War Lord Mayor, Sir Charles Hanson, should be a man who, though born in Cornwall, had spent the greater part of his life in the

great Dominion of Canada. His year of office was fateful, in the history of the War and the fate of the Empire. It opened during the terrible operations at Passchendaele, which I have described in my reminiscences entitled, *Scalpel, Sword and Stretcher*.

After an autumn characterised by the collapse of the Italian armies on the Caporetto, which was counteracted by the timely arrival of British and French troops on the Piave Front, the German drive, commencing on March 21st, brought alarm to a war-weary City. The City had been congratulating itself on the success of the Italian Expeditionary Forces when the grave news arrived that the Germans had recovered the Somme territory, threatened Amiens, entered Armentières, laid Bailleul in ruins, and captured Kemmel. The temper of the City—as elsewhere—was no longer marked by the stirring enthusiasm of earlier days, for too great a toll had been taken of the young life of the nation; but the citizens tightened their belts, set their teeth, and settled down to a grim determination to outlast the Central European Powers in devotion and self-sacrifice. The new Lord Mayor devoted the whole of his period of office to unceasing efforts to contribute to the victory of the Allies.

There was no spectacular swearing in of battalions *en masse* during the early days of that wonderful year, but the Lord Mayor rendered splendid service by assisting in raising the first thousand millions by the sale of War Bonds. During his year two campaigns for the purchase of War Bonds were launched in the City. The first began on March 4th, 1918, and during "Business Men's Week," a total of £138,870,240 was subscribed, of which £75,000,000 was contributed by London. The City effort was directed by the Lord Mayor, with such success that in the City alone £55,200,000 was raised—more than one-third of the total.

The second campaign was opened on September 30th, 1918, by a meeting at Guildhall, at which Mr. Bonar Law

and Mr. A. J. Balfour were the principal speakers. The Lord Mayor again lent every effort to make the appeal a success. Altogether a total of over £30,000,000 was raised in London.

In the above-mentioned and many other War activities, successive Lord Mayors were accepted by the various municipal bodies as the natural leaders and organisers for Greater London.

In addition, Lord Mayor Hanson made great efforts on behalf of thrift and economy, but perhaps the most notable feature of his work was the special interest he displayed in our Allies, the United States, Greece, Roumania and Serbia. He realised that the Allies wanted a bit of encouragement, and succeeded in his self-imposed task of providing it. The Comrades of the Great War was inaugurated at a Mansion House meeting soon after Lord Mayor Hanson took office.

A small personal gift and a cheque for £53,000 privately raised in the City, was presented to the King and Queen to celebrate their silver wedding in July, 1918. Their Majesties allocated this splendid gift to form the nucleus of a Fund for Disabled and Discharged Service Men and their relatives or dependants.

Sir Charles Hanson made history by paying a visit to the Italian Front in August, and after this visit references to Italy's share in the War were notably emphasized at meetings in the Mansion House.

Unfortunately I did not meet His Lordship on this occasion as I had returned to France, and at the period my Corps was following up the first triumphant attack by the Fourth Army on August 8th.

One of Sir Charles Hanson's special enterprises was what was called "The Lord Mayor's Red Cross Million." He did not succeed in getting his million, but got £656,000, which was an extraordinary result when the citizens of London were suffering from war-weariness and had behind them four years of constant giving to innumerable funds.

It was indeed an achievement creditable alike to the Lord Mayor himself and his helpers.

Sir Charles Hanson had for one of his Sheriffs Capt. Sir George Rowland Blades, who was Lord Mayor in 1927, and raised to the Peerage as Lord Ebbisham two years later.

Surely the world has never seen such a year as 1918. At the end of March the great World War had been raging for three years and eight months, and no one could see the end. It was an anxious time for the Allies. Russia and Roumania had dropped out. The Germans had struck a heavy blow on the Western Front, and the British Armies were exhausted with a fighting retreat. The Italian Armies had recently been driven back and were holding a defensive line in their own country. A large Allied force was apparently doing nothing at Salonika. There was no progress in Palestine or Mesopotamia. The seas were infested by enemy submarines. London was in nightly expectation of a Gotha raid, and Big Bertha was hurling shells into Paris. In the middle of July the situation was no better. The British had lost ground in Flanders and the Germans were crossing the Marne. Who could have foreseen or expected in those dark days that before the end of the year the Allied Armies would be on the Rhine, the German Fleet interned at Scapa Flow, and the Kaiser a refugee in Holland?

The end of the year brought London its sixth War Lord Mayor, but the Armistice was signed two days after Sir Horace Brook Marshall took office.

On his Lord Mayor's Day the procession was no longer for recruiting purposes, as peace was at hand. It was designed to bring home to the citizens the wide organisation of the nation's Forces and to give them an opportunity of greeting the troops of the Allied nations.

So Sir Horace became the Peace Lord Mayor, and discharged the important office with great distinction and noble generosity.

But the many notable events that characterised the closing days of 1918 and the greater part of 1919 are outside the scope of this chapter.

Just one point needs emphasising in conclusion.

In other nations the task of receiving distinguished visitors from friendly nations and the country's dependencies is discharged by a Government Hospitality Fund.

Here throughout the War this great national service was performed by succeeding Lord Mayors.

As the allowance made by the Corporation for the upkeep of the Mansion House is quite inadequate to meet the demands of even a normal year, it should be realised how deeply indebted the Empire is to the generous viceroys of the City, who met these Imperial demands out of their private purses.

With characteristic modesty the City has published no record of the splendid services I have endeavoured to outline.

Needless to say that I have merely touched the fringe of the work of the City during the Great War. A book might be written on the subject, and indeed one has been written by Major A. H. Thomas, M.A., Deputy Keeper of the Records at Guildhall. It is a mighty tome, and I owe many of the facts which I have recorded to the courtesy of Major Thomas in placing this book at my disposal.

I have no doubt he would do the same for any curious reader, and, indeed, any visitor to Guildhall will find the Records Office well worthy of a visit and the custodians willing to display the City's marvellous collection of priceless old muniments.

CHAPTER XVI

SCHOOLS

Better build schoolrooms for "the boy"
Than cells and gibbets for "the man".

ELIZA COOK.

THE most remarkable feature in the story of the City is the widespread influence which it exercises over the rest of the kingdom.

In no sphere of activities is this more evident than in the encouragement of learning.

You may travel far and wide through the King's dominions, but will find in the most unexpected places evidence of the interest in education of the citizens of London.

As one writer puts it, "You may take your stand at Rugby and say here is a great Midland institution," but Rugby looks back gratefully to Laurence Sheriff, citizen and grocer, an early Master of the Grocers' Company, who rented from Lincoln's Inn the "King's Grocer's House" in Newgate Street.

It is the same story with other public schools.

No less than six have been founded by the Livery Companies. These are St. Paul's, founded by Dean Colet in 1510, and managed by the Mercers' Company; Oundle founded in 1556, and managed by the Grocers' Company; Merchant Taylors, instituted in Suffolk Lane in 1561, and transferred to the Charterhouse in the 'seventies, and now again on the wing to Moor Park; Tonbridge, conducted by the Skinners since 1553; Aldenham, founded

by the Brewers in 1599, and Great Crosby, another Merchant Taylors' foundation, established near Liverpool as far back as 1618.

But perhaps the most spectacular of the City's contributions to educational foundations has been Christ's Hospital which, within living memory, flourished in the heart of the City.

The earliest schools of the City were opened and maintained by the great religious houses and this famous charity, like many another educational institution, rose on the ruins of one of those splendid medieval institutions. The Convent and Church of the Grey Friars in Newgate Street was given to the City by Henry VIII just before his death for the relief of the sick poor.

It was one of what are still styled "the Royal Hospitals."

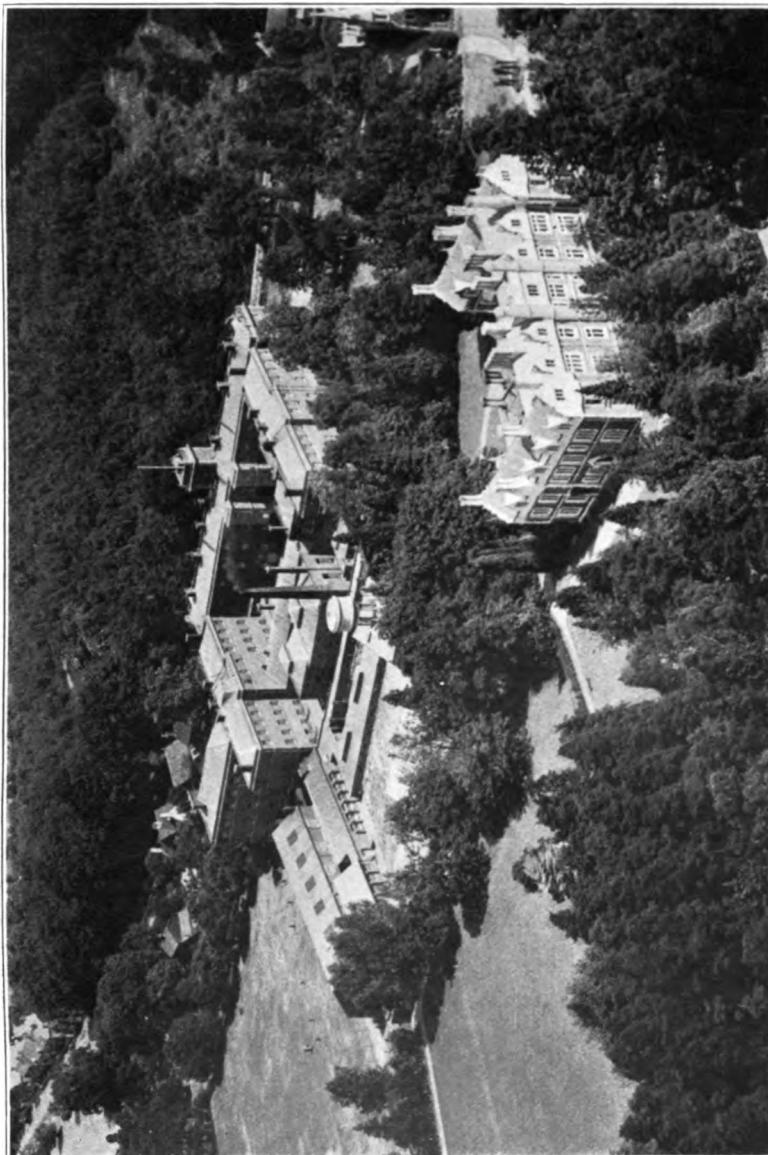
This great group of charities is the most striking evidence which could be offered of the high appreciation of their responsibilities to their poorer fellow citizens, shown by the City Fathers, in their official capacity, as far back as the sixteenth century.

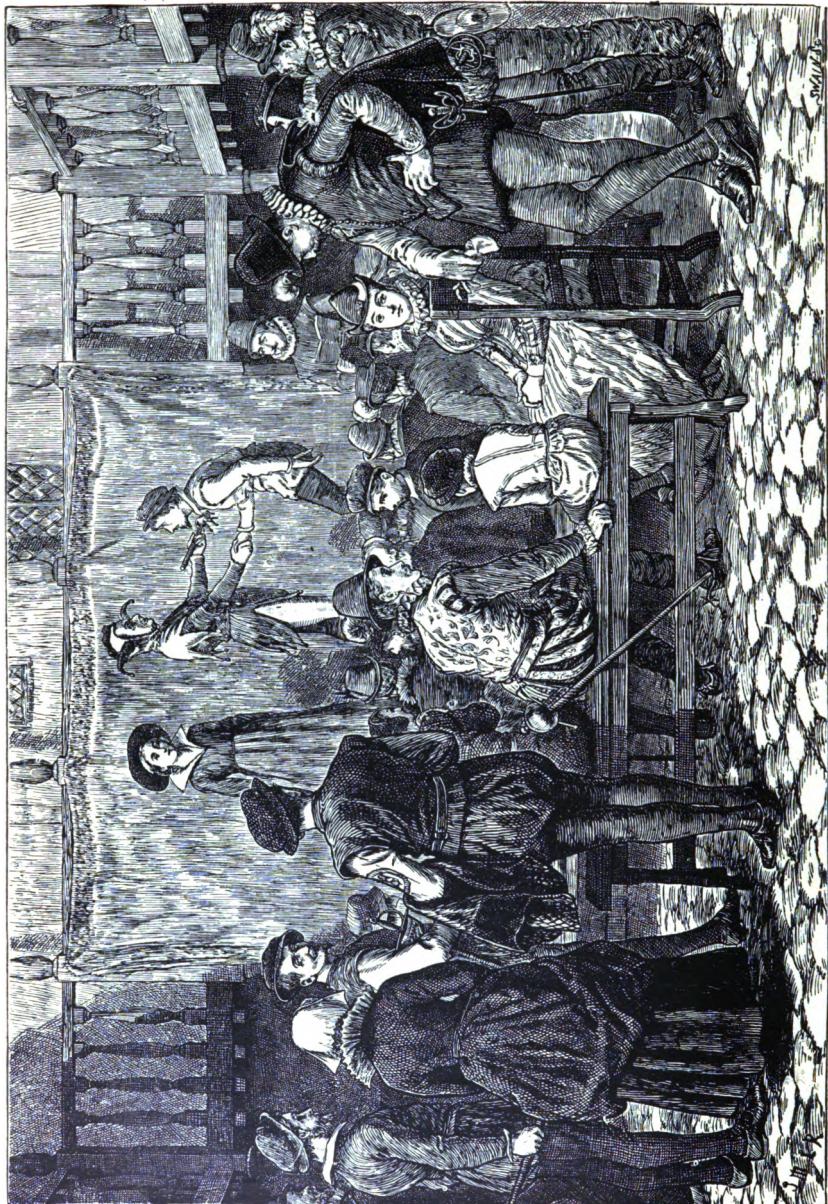
Up till their dissolution the relief of the poor, the care of the sick, and the provision of homes for orphan children fell upon the Monastic Orders. But these orders, it must be remembered, were largely endowed by citizens. When the religious Houses were closed and their revenues confiscated vast numbers of poor and sick, both adults and children, were rendered destitute and homeless.

The Corporation endeavoured to shoulder the administrative burden hitherto exercised by the good monks, and in order to do so petitioned the King to hand over to the City the buildings lately occupied by various religious bodies which were then lying empty.

The King in response to this petition incorporated St. Bartholomew's as a new foundation with the object of providing food and maintenance for the sick poor, and shortly before his death added to this act of mercy by

By kind permission of Mr. John Lane, The Bodley Head, from "Bridgetell Hospital," by E. G. O'Donoghue.
THE KING EDWARD SCHOOL, WITLEY, from the air.





A PLAY IN A LONDON INN YARD IN THE TIME OF QUEEN ELIZABETH
From an old print.

Face page 193]

conveying to the City the House and Church of the Grey Friars, the House and Hospital of Bethlem, which, since 1346, had been under the patronage and protection of the Mayor and aldermen, and the Royal Palace of Bridewell. The City by the payment of a large sum of money acquired the House and Hospital of St. Thomas in Southwark.

The charitable effort made by the City in the sixteenth century to provide for the sick and needy was truly remarkable, as the Court of Common Council made a capital levy on all residents in the City of no less than one-thirtieth of their estates.

This levy was backed up by voluntary effort—notably a Brotherhood for the Relief of the Poor formed in 1548, to which the Mayor and aldermen belonged, agreeing to pay an annual subscription of half to one mark—a considerable amount at the time.

King Edward VI, to show his appreciation of the benevolence of his citizens of London, issued Letters Patent incorporating the Mayor, aldermen and Commonalty of the City as Governors of the Royal Hospitals of St. Bartholomew, Christ's, Bridewell, Bethlem, and St. Thomas.

The three Royal Hospitals which are still hospitals in the modern sense will be dealt with later, and here we are concerned only with Christ's Hospital, which was a school from the outset, and Bridewell, which had an educational outlook from its inception and has in recent years founded a school which is second to none in its own peculiar category.

The history of the Royal Hospital of Bridewell is a fascinating story, which has been ably told in two sumptuous volumes by the Rev. Edward Geoffrey O'Donoghue, who has been Chaplain of Bethlem Hospital for many years.

The old Palace was the only real contribution made by the young King Edward to the Royal Hospitals, as the

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other buildings were merely the properties of the dispossessed monks which had cost him nothing.

The City Fathers utilised the old Palace as a House of Correction, and much has been written about the whipping of men and women in the old penitentiary; but it fulfilled a useful purpose, and was copied in all parts of the country, by individuals and institutions. The word Bridewell has indeed, found its way into the dictionaries as synonymous with a House of Correction or a workhouse. Dr. Brewer, who is generally so well informed, says it is "strange that St. Bride, or St. Bridget, the model of purity and innocence, should have given her name to a penitentiary or prison," but the title is, of course, derived from the Well of St. Bridget, which gave its name to the parish in which the old palace stood.

O'Donoghue thinks that the saint was probably one of the early Irish saints who converted this country to Christianity—a pleasing reflection for sons of the shamrock.

Too much has been made by most writers of the use of the lash in old Bridewell and too little of the work it did of a reformatory character. "Bridewell proclaimed the gospel of labour. If she chastised with the thong or the rod, she also set her prisoners to hard labour. She sought to prevent crime and mendicity by taking children from the streets, and giving them a trade and an honest livelihood." Impostors, tramps and women of the street were no doubt chastised, but they were also maintained, clothed and employed in useful occupations, and from the outset the governors of Bridewell provided medical attention for its inmates.

In this particular the City Fathers were far ahead of their times, as there was no provision for sickness amongst the inmates of ordinary prisons until the middle of the eighteenth century. "Disbanded soldiers and prisoners from the fluctuating battles of the Civil War were interned in the

Great Hall of the hospital, and their wounds dressed: a little later they were sent out as 'indentured servants' to Virginia and Barbados—England's new colonies."

In 1618 Bridewell anticipated Dr. Barnado's scheme for juvenile emigration, and sent a hundred boys and girls to Virginia, and the scheme was so successful that another batch was sent out the following year.

So Bridewell played its part in providing settlers for our earliest attempts at Empire building.

Gradually the governors developed a scheme for apprenticing poor orphan boys to useful trades, and it is interesting to learn that some of these lads received their early education in Christ's Hospital. They wore a special uniform of blue with white caps, and they modelled themselves on the ordinary City apprentices and added to the dangers of the streets of old London to which I have referred elsewhere.

In the eighteenth century Mr. O'Donoghue tells us that Bridewell was one of "the sights of London. The public floggings on a Wednesday or a Friday attracted crowds who wanted amusement. Men of letters, like Ned Ward, and foreign tourists such as De Saussure, spiced their pages or letters with accounts of the prisoners and samples of their conversation. Bridewell was so famous that country people came up to London to see the floggings, and to compare it with the 'Bridewells' in their own counties."

In the nineteenth century, however, all was changed, and public opinion demanded prison reform and industrial schools instead of the disgraceful spectacles of the previous century. The governors of Bridewell marched with the times and developed a House of Occupations, which became a successful experiment in reformatory work.

In 1860 the Court of Chancery went further and "produced a liberal scheme, which transformed the House of Occupations into King Edward's School. The governors were authorised to let the site of the prisons on building leases,

but they were not to interfere with the court-room, counting-house, or chapel. The income available for charitable purposes was to be employed for the benefit of the boys and girls on the new foundation. The girls were to continue in the grounds of Bethlehem Hospital, but the boys were to be transferred from London to the country, as soon as a school was ready to accommodate them within easy reach of London. The children admitted were to be 'such as, if not so admitted, would be under temptation to commit crime,' but the governors might admit convicted children, provided that they did not exceed one-sixth of the whole number admitted."

A site for King Edward's School and the Convalescent Home of Bethlem Hospital was found at Witley, in the delightful part of Surrey which lies between Godalming and Haslemere.

The school now provides accommodation for three hundred boys, who are mostly the orphan children of poor fathers. But there is nothing of the charity school about this splendid foundation, which has its own Cadet Corps and whose scholars excel in every kind of sport.

The spirit of patriotism is fostered, and the rents of the old palace site are well applied in preparing young citizens to hold their own in a larger world. Their President, Lord Wakefield, who played such an important part in obtaining recruits for the Great War, must be specially proud to recall that his own particular school provided fifteen hundred volunteers in the hour of our country's need, and that no less than forty commissions and thirty-seven decorations were won by the descendants of the unruly apprentices of old Bridewell.

Christ's Hospital, the other Royal Foundation with which we are concerned in this Chapter, had from the outset special features of its own.

Bluff King Hal's gift of the establishment of the Grey Friars to the City was confirmed by Edward VI and

announced by the famous Dr. Ridley, Bishop of Rochester, in a public sermon at Paul's Cross.

The Lord Mayor at the time, Sir Richard Dobbs, gladly accepted the King's gift, and led by their monarch, the citizens threw themselves whole-heartedly into the project.

The King endowed the Hospital with lands and tenements which had belonged to the Savoy, and with the aid of voluntary help from the citizens the old Convent of the Grey Friars opened in a very short space of time to receive its first scholars.

At first the Hospital was, in truth, an institution for the relief of the poor, and even mothers with infants at the breast were admitted, but by the close of the reign of Edward VI it had already become an establishment devoted chiefly to education.

The Church of the Grey Friars remained as the school chapel. It was destroyed in the Great Fire, but was rebuilt. For more than two centuries the "Blue Coat School," as the great institution is popularly called, was an especial interest of the City, but towards the end of the eighteenth century an Act of Parliament transferred most of the management of the Royal Hospitals to special bodies.

After the passing of that Act, the Corporation did not take any active measures relating to the Hospitals, except through the Governors appointed by them; but, a complaint being made in 1808 as to the admission of improper objects into Christ's Hospital, proceedings were instituted against the Hospital in the Court of Chancery, and eventually the children objected to were removed.

In 1890 the institution came under a new method of administration devised by the Charity Commissioners. Under this scheme the Lord Mayor and aldermen remain *ex officio* Governors, but only the Lord Mayor retains his right of presenting one boy, or girl, annually.

The Hospital Seal remains in the custody of the Chamberlain of London, and documents which have to be sealed

must to be sent to Guildhall for the purpose, a curious survival of the complete control formerly exercised by the Corporation over this great member of the Royal Hospitals which has strayed so far from the City's fold.

The City can look with pride on the many generations of Blue Coat boys that have been nurtured within its boundaries and under its kindly jurisdiction. Lamb and Coleridge were old "Blues," and the former has, in his writings, given us vivid pictures of the old Hospital and its customs.

The school has long since departed from the City, and the Corporation has little control over its affairs, but the boys wearing their picturesque Tudor dress still revisit the home of their predecessors to attend a Service in the sacred building which has replaced the Church of the Grey Friars and also attend at the Mansion House annually to receive the hospitality and generous gifts of the successor to Dobbs, the great Alderman, who was their real founder.

It should never be forgotten, as *The Times* has pointed out, that the splendid administration of the Corporation has been a cause contributory to that great increase in land values which enabled Christ's Hospital to obtain about one million sterling for its Newgate Street site, and to rebuild its Hertford school for its girls and to purchase near Horsham 1,100 acres for its great school for boys.

The famous boarding school in Newgate Street had from the outset great rival day-schools in St. Paul's School under the shadow of the great Cathedral, and Merchant Taylors' School, already referred to in Suffolk Lane, but these two foundations have also migrated from the City. The former has now a fine home at Hammersmith, and the latter occupies the old Charterhouse building, but is on the wing further afield at an early date. The Mercers' School is the sole survivor of four grammar schools founded by Henry VI in the parishes of St. Andrew's, Holborn, All Hallows the Great, Thames Street, St. Peter's, Cornhill, and St. Thomas of Acon.

The Mercers at the Dissolution of the Monasteries acquired the Hospital and Church of the Fraternity of St. Thomas by paying Henry VIII a lump sum down and promising to maintain "a free Grammar School within the City of London perpetually."

Faithfully the great Guild has kept its word, as when it was necessary to move the School from Cheapside the Mercers acquired Barnard's Inn, an ancient Inn of Chancery in Holborn, and in the delightful setting of the old legal college the famous School of St. Thomas of Acon continues to flourish.

These Guild institutions and many others referred to in my *London's Livery Companies* were founded, or controlled, by the City Companies and not by the City Fathers, but in addition to its lost dominion in Newgate Street the Corporation itself has been, and still is, an educator of exceptional enterprise.

The greatest of its achievements is the City of London School which owes its inception to John Carpenter, Town Clerk of London, in the reign of that great founder of Schools, Henry VI. The original foundation was very modest, as Carpenter left property in Thames Street and Chancery Lane for the finding and bringing up of only four poor men's children with meat, drink, apparel and learning in the Schools and the Universities. The educational benefits of the bequest have been extended from time to time by the Court of Common Council and various members of that body, notably Warren Stormes Hale, a Deputy of Coleman Street, who was afterwards Lord Mayor. Eventually, in 1834, the Corporation obtained parliamentary authority to discontinue one of its markets, Honey Lane Market, above referred to, and to erect in Milk Street, Cheapside, a School for the Religious and Virtuous Education of Boys, and for instructing them in the higher branches of literature and all other useful learning.

The foundation stone was laid by Lord Brougham in

1835, and the School opened with upwards of four hundred pupils two years later, inaugurating a career of success which has been steadily developed year by year.

In little more than forty years the School had outgrown its Milk Street site, but had so won the affectionate esteem of the Corporation and the country that it was decided, regardless of cost, to move it to a very valuable site on the Victoria Embankment. Here since 1883 the School building has been one of the magnificent architectural landmarks on the banks of the Thames.

The new building was designed to accommodate 680 boys, but the pressure of application is so great that this number is usually exceeded.

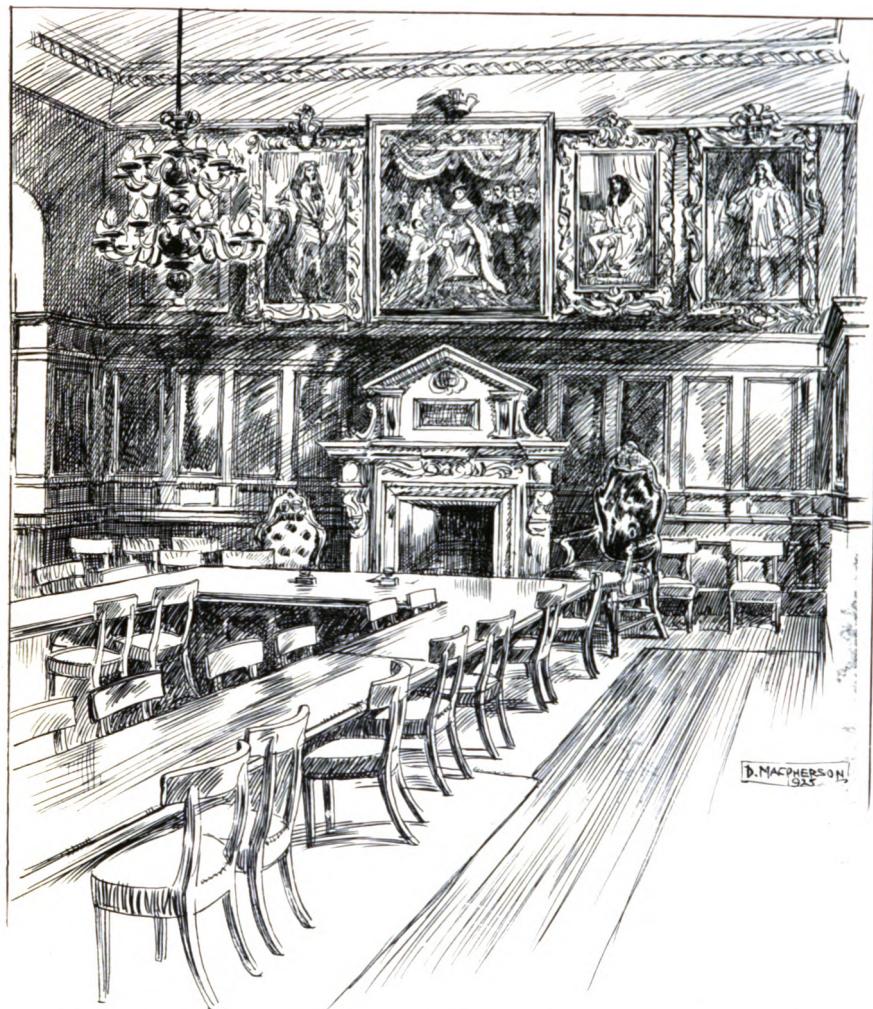
The Court of Common Council elect the Master and Second Master, but are guided in the selection of suitable candidates by Professors of King's College and the University of London. True to its ancient democratic principle of control over its staff, the two principal officers of the School, like most of the great officers of the Corporation, are subject to annual re-election by the Court.

The School has a very large number of scholarships at Oxford, Cambridge and the London University, and many of its pupils have distinguished themselves in art, literature, politics and the learned professions.

Not the least distinguished of these honoured names is that of Herbert Henry Asquith, who was sent up to Balliol from the old Milk Street establishment in the 'seventies.

The School is very far from being self supporting, and those who are inclined to criticize the Corporation of London should bear in mind that in the maintenance of this great public School the City Fathers have, during less than a century, expended a sum of upwards of three-quarters of a million pounds.

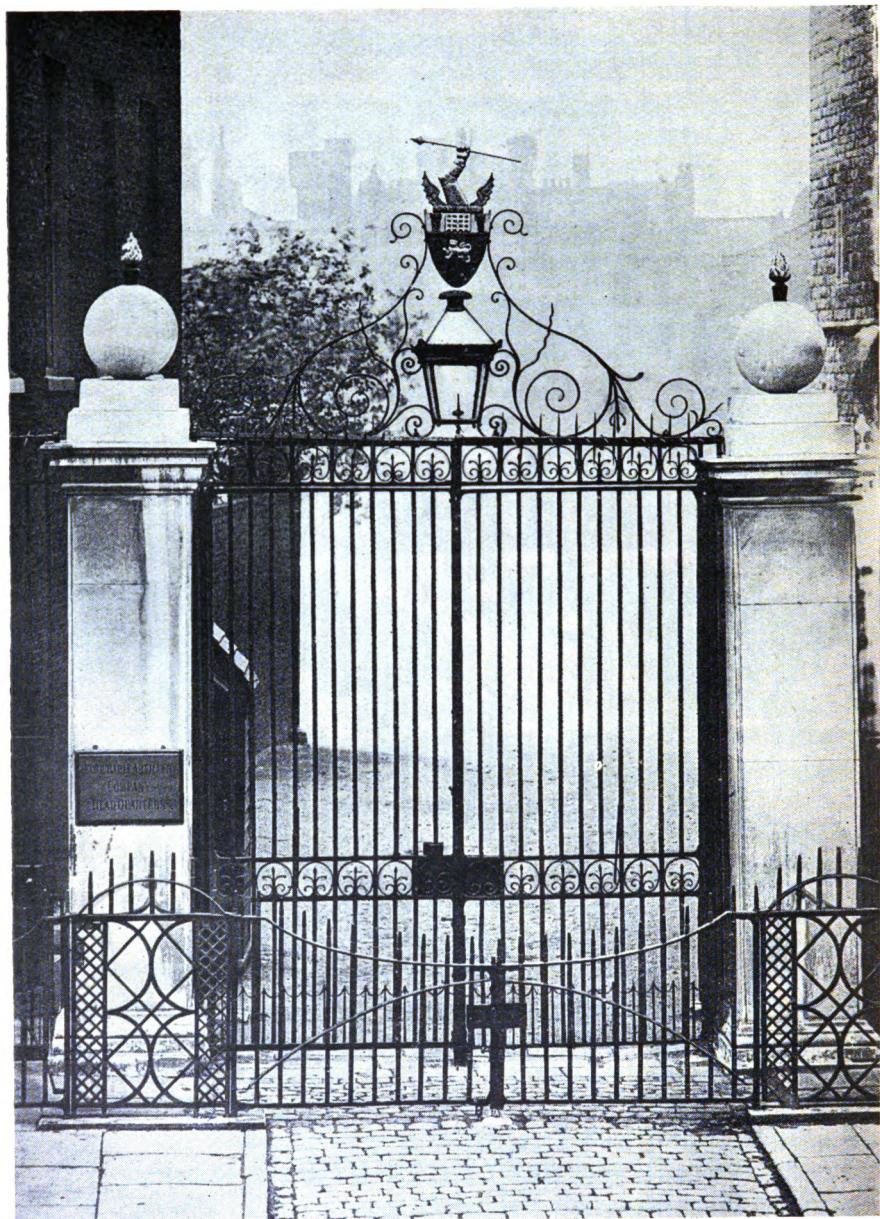
The immense success which attended John Carpenter's pious foundation led William Ward, of Brixton, to bequeath £20,000 to the Corporation for the purpose of building



[By kind permission of Mr. John Lane, The Bodley Head, from "Bridewell Hospital" by E. G. O'Donoghue.

THE COURT ROOM OF THE ROYAL HOSPITALS OF BRIDEWELL AND BETHLEM

[Face page 200]



THE HONOURABLE ARTILLERY COMPANY: THE CITY ROAD GATE

Face page 201]

and maintaining a High School for Girls to correspond "as near as may be to the City of London School, to be called by the name of, and known for ever as 'The City of London School for Girls, founded by William Ward'."

The School Building was erected on a site in Carmelite Street, Victoria Embankment, at a cost of nearly £17,000, exclusive of the site, valued at £10,000.

The School opened in 1894 with thirty pupils, but has now more than ten times that number.

It is rich in Scholarships at University Colleges devoted to the higher education of women, and is now playing just as important a part in the preparation of girls for the ever-widening careers offered to them as the City of London School has so long been doing for boys. These two great establishments are managed for the Corporation by a Committee appointed annually by the Court of Common Council.

In addition to these two City Academies the Corporation controls a fine School at Ashstead, Surrey, now known as the City of London Freemen's School, but familiar to past citizens as the Freemens' Orphan School. This institution was founded at Brixton so recently as 1854, but the Fund which eventually led to the establishment of the institution goes back to the days of Charles II, when the London Workhouse was established in Bishopsgate for the better relief of the poor of London.

Various charitable persons left bequests for the apprenticing of boys and girls residing in the Workhouse, and the institution carried on useful work for nearly two centuries.

Changed conditions of life in London led to the sale of the Workhouse and the appropriation of the funds realized to the education and apprenticing of poor children.

By the middle of the last century the Corporation decided that the funds of the Charity would be best applied in establishing and supporting a School for the orphan children

of Freemen, and applied to Parliament for the necessary authority offering to allocate for the support of the School the fees paid by persons admitted to the Freedom of the City.

The Freemen's Orphan School Act was duly passed in 1850, and the School opened at Brixton in 1854.

The School after a very successful career at Brixton was moved to Ashtead in 1925, and its scope extended by the admission of paying boarders and day pupils who are not necessarily the children of Freemen. The word "Orphan" was at the same time removed from the name of the School. The Academy seems to fill a great need in its new site, and is on the high road to becoming a worthy rival of the great City of London School.

It is hardly realized that this foundation is a very heavy charge on the City's cash. The rents, dividends, etc., from the original Charity amount to less than £1,000 a year and the Freedom fees to about a similar sum, so that the Corporation has to foot the bill for the difference amounting to about £5,000 to £7,000 a year.

As pointed out in *London's Livery Companies*, a feature of the City has been the reliance placed on the various City Companies by by-gone benefactors to carry out, after they had passed away, their pious wishes for the benefit of posterity.

The Corporation has shared this confidence of testators, and the result is that a famous Westminster Charity, the Emanuel Hospital, has been under the control and management of the Lord Mayor and aldermen since 1623.

This Foundation was separated into a School and Alms-house branch in 1873, and since that year the Lord Mayor, six aldermen and the Recorder have been Governors of an important group of Academies known as the United Westminster Schools.

In addition to the educational establishments belonging to the Corporation there exists the Sir John Cass Foundation

and certain Ward Schools regulated by schemes of the Charity Commissioners and Board of Education, two L.C.C. Schools at Gravel Lane and Swan Street, and three Non-Provided Schools in connection with the Churches of St. Bartholomew the Great, St. Brides, and St. Sepulchre's, all of which have representatives of the Court of Common Council on their boards of management. Enough has been said to show that if she had no other claim to be regarded as unique, London's contribution to the great schools which are England's glory would alone justify her proud position as the Sovereign City of the Empire.

CHAPTER XVII

COLLEGES AND CRAFTSMANSHIP

"Delightful task! to rear the tender thought,
To teach the young idea how to shoot."

JAMES THOMSON.

"The antiente customs of this honourable and renowned
Cittie hath been ever to retaine and maintaine excellent and
expert musicians." THOMAS MORLEY, 1599.

THE old merchants of London were not content with founding schools for primary or even secondary education, they aimed at giving the citizens of London a University of their own.

Whittington founded a College for Priests, but Sir Thomas Gresham went further. He not only gave London a bourse, but provided the City with a college for London youth "which should have been a rival of Trinity or Christ Church."

Gresham was the type of Tudor merchant prince, shrewd, self-reliant and not over scrupulous. He had an inborn love of commerce, and his patriotism and benevolence are attested by his disposition of his property.

No one knows when he was born, which has led to the pretty story that he was a foundling and that he adopted his well-known crest because his life was saved by the chirping of a grasshopper.

Gresham, by his will, gave the Royal Exchange to the Corporation and the Mercers' Company, on condition that they instituted a College in his own house, which stood in Bishopsgate.

Four professors were to be appointed by the Corporation to give a course of lectures in Divinity, Astronomy, Music and Geometry, and three lecturers by the Mercers' Company to read lectures on Law, Rhetoric and Physic.

Lectures were begun in 1597, and read throughout "Term Time," in Latin in the forenoon and in English in the afternoon.

After the Great Fire the Exchange was held for three years in this building, which was leased to the crown in 1768 and demolished in 1770.

The College was at first a residential institution, and the professors had "most comfortable and commodious apartments" assigned to them. They appear even to have taken in lodgers, as we learn that Sir Kenelm Digby, the great Naval Commander and writer, after his wife's death retired into Gresham College, where "he diverted himself with his chymistry and the professors' good conversation."

Sir Christopher Wren was one of the early Professors of Astronomy in the College, but hardly had his first course of lectures been completed when the death of Cromwell threw the affairs of the College, no less than that of the nation, into a state of confusion.

Writing to Wren, who had retired to Oxford, Bishop Sprat complains of its "nasty condition" and "infernal smells." He says that the Professor of Physic, Dr. Goddard, who was Cromwell's Physician during his campaign in Scotland, alone remained in his quarters, "which he could never be able to do had he not before prepared his nose for camp perfumes by his voyage into Scotland, and had he not excellent restoratives in his cellars."

Later on an enquiry had to be ordered into the manner in which the Professors' quarters were used and occupied, when it was found that the majority of the Professors, instead of living in their rooms, had let them to persons unconnected with the College. Dr. Woodward and his predecessor, for example, had let the Physick Lodgings

to a merchant, who occupied them with his two nieces and two servants for ten years or more.

This Dr. Woodward had a quarrel with the famous physician Dr. Richard Mead, one of his brother Professors. The two doctors first caned one another in Bishopsgate and then fought a duel with swords in the Square of the College! Woodward was wounded, fell backwards and was unable to rise, when Mead is reported to have said: "Take your life!" to which his medical adversary replied: "Anything but your physic!"

They had quarrelled over a medical question!

The Royal Society held its meetings in Gresham College from 1660 to 1710. The Fellows appear to then have had some differences with the Professors and moved to a house of their own in Pemberton's Row, near Two Cranes Court, Fleet Street.

Sir William Temple contemptuously refers to the Society as the "Men of Gresham", and Young wrote:

"Satire! had I thy Dorset's force divine,
A knave or fool should perish in each line;
Tho' for the first all Westminster should plead
And for the last all Gresham intercede."

Pepys has a couple of references to Gresham College, and in 1661 "found a great company of honour there." Three or four years later he was admitted a member of the Royal Society at the College.

A new College was built in 1843 at the corner of Gresham Street and Basinghall Street, in close proximity to the Guildhall and the home of the great guild of Mercers, who continue to share with the Corporation the responsibilities of management.

The Report of the Royal Commission on the proposed Gresham University of London suggested that the Gresham Lectures might be improved and brought within University

influence, but the College does not appear to be a School of the University of London.

Gresham College is, however, closely connected with a great scheme for promoting technical education which came into being in 1880.

The Livery Companies of London have always stood for a very high standard of craftsmanship, and one of the most striking developments of the Guilds of recent years has been the attention which they have devoted to improving technical education in the various arts and crafts which they were formed to foster.

This revival of interest in craftsmanship was marked towards the end of the last century by the establishment of the City and Guilds of London Institute, which owed its inception to the support of several of the great Companies aided by the Corporation.

The institute has its headquarters at Gresham College, and the Lord Mayor, Recorder, six aldermen and twelve Common Councilmen are Governors, and four members of the Corporation are appointed by the Common Council to serve on the Institute's Council.

Its activities are divided into four main branches, three of which are carried on in colleges and schools outside the City's boundaries.

The City and Guilds Engineering College forms the engineering part of the Imperial College of Science and Technology at South Kensington. The College was included as a School of the University of London in the Faculty of Engineering under the Statutes made for the University by the Commissioners appointed under the University of London Act, 1898. The courses of instruction cover a period of three years, and are in Mechanical Engineering and Motive Power, Civil Engineering, and in Electrical Engineering. They commence once a year in October, after the Matriculation or Entrance Examination of the College, and necessitate attendance through the Session. The

diploma of Associate of the City and Guilds of London Institute (A.C.G.I.) is awarded by the Council of the Institute to matriculated students who have gone through a complete course with sufficient merit.

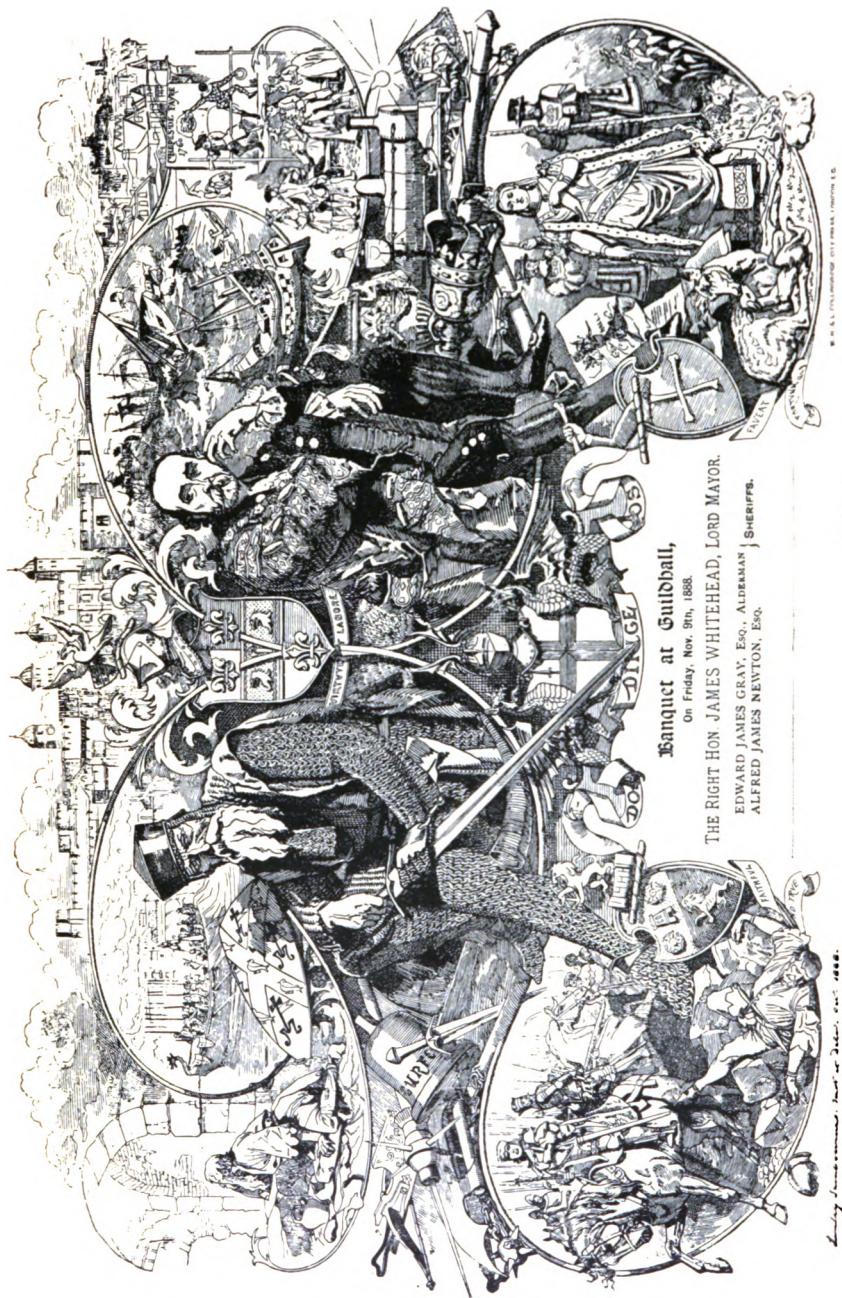
The Institute's Art School is at Kennington Park Road. It is called the City and Guilds South London Technical Art School, and teaches, both in day and evening classes, modelling and drawing and painting from life and from antique figures. Lettering and illumination is taught only in the evenings, and Tapestry and Weaving only in day classes.

The most important branch of the Institute is its Department of Technology at 31 Brechin Place, S.W.7., which exists to assist local authorities and private firms by holding examinations in over eighty technical subjects at centres throughout Great Britain, Ireland, the Overseas Dominions, India, and the Crown Colonies. The Institute acts as a sort of Technical University, recognising and registering schools and classes of instruction, and granting certificates to teachers.

The Empire-wide activity of the Institute is remarkable evidence of the sovereign character of the City and its great Guilds.

Another great activity of the City has been to provide evening classes by means of which ambitious young citizens could improve their general education and fit themselves to rise in the social scale. The oldest of the institutions formed to provide such classes was the Birkbeck Literary and Scientific Institution, founded in 1823 by Dr. George Birkbeck, a physician who practised in Old Broad Street. The new body came into existence outside the City and at first had a fluctuating success, but it survived the ridicule of its enemies and the quarrels of its promoters, and is now one of the most successful organisations of its kind and the parent of similar bodies in the chief towns of the country.

Birkbeck College prepared the way for the system of popular



Banquet at Guildhall,

On Friday, Nov. 9th, 1888.

THE RIGHT HON. JAMES WHITEHEAD, LORD MAYOR.

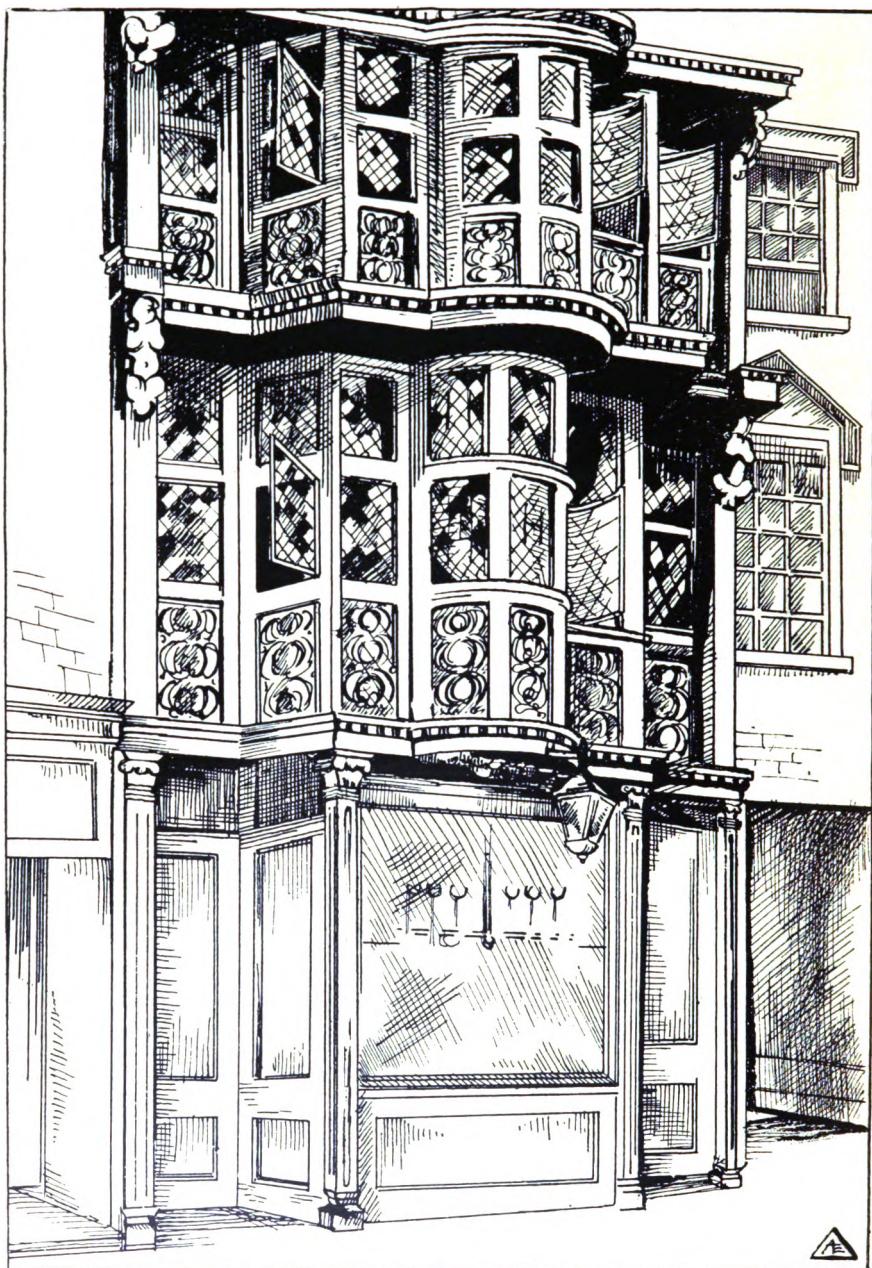
EDWARD JAMES GRAY, Esq., ALDERMAN, | SHERIFFS.

ALFRED JAMES NEWTON, Esq.

CHAIRMAN.

THE CITY'S HISTORY IN AN INVITATION CARD TO LORD MAYOR'S BANQUET, NOVEMBER 9TH, 1888

[Face page 208]



THE FRONT OF SIR PAUL PINDAR'S HOUSE IN BISHOPSGATE
[Face page 209]



scientific instruction carried out by the Science and Art Department of the Board of Education.

The Corporation appoints a representative on the Board of Governors, and the College is now housed in a fine building in Breams Buildings, close by Fetter Lane.

It is now a School of the University of London, and prepares evening and part-time students for various examinations by means of day and evening classes.

Somewhat similar to Birbeck College is the City of London College in White Street, Moorfields, which originated in a series of evening classes for young men, inaugurated in 1848 at Crosby Hall, Bishopsgate.

In 1860 the institution under its present name was moved to Sussex Hall, Leadenhall, where its success was so great that its present home had to be erected just on fifty years ago.

The building was opened by King Edward VII as Prince of Wales, and has had an uninterrupted career of usefulness. Many men who later on rose to distinction have been students in its classes, notably the late Sir Edward Clarke, K.C., that striking example of the City's self-made men.

Many sons of the City have risen to high positions in the commercial or political worlds, but few, like Sir Edward, have achieved such distinction in the narrow limits of a learned profession.

Thanks in no small measure to the classes of the City of London College, Clarke attained a great position in the State, and died the adored *doyen* of the great profession of the Bar.

In addition to its evening classes the College now conducts day classes providing a complete training in business subjects for boys and a full curriculum of secretarial instruction for girls.

The City Fathers have always taken an interest in music, and Thomas Morley, the great organist of St. Paul's, who wrote the music for some of Shakespeare's productions,

tells us "the antient custom of this honourable and renowned Citie hath ever been to retaine and maintaine excellent and expert musicians"; and the ancient Guild of Musicians, one of the most flourishing, though not the most wealthy, of London's Livery Companies, is active testimony of the age-long interest of the City in "this feat of minstrelsy."

It was not, however, till that remarkable period in the last century, the 'eighties, which was marked by such activity in various spheres of the Corporation's work, that what was known as the Guildhall Orchestral Society came into existence.

The new society opened in some rooms in Aldermanbury, and was a success from the start. Its name was soon changed to its present title of the Guildhall School of Music, and its object from the outset has been to provide a complete musical education at the minimum cost for both professional and amateur vocalists and instrumentalists.

The School rapidly attained popularity with the musical world, and it was necessary to move from its original cramped quarters to a fine site belonging to the Corporation in a street appropriately named after the City's great educational benefactor, John Carpenter.

The Corporation spent £26,000 on the original building, a similar amount in 1897 in providing extensions, and quite recently has celebrated the Jubilee of the School by providing a new story for the accommodation of the growing needs of the institution.

The School is administered by a Committee appointed annually by the Court of Common Council. The Music Committee, as it is called, has been fortunate in having a succession of distinguished musicians to carry on the professional direction of the School, but especially so in relation to the present principal, the well-known composer and conductor, Sir Landon Ronald.

Sir Landon has gathered round him a splendid corps

of distinguished teachers, who have placed the School in the very forefront of municipal conservatoires.

Though situated in the City, the Guildhall School is a national rather than a civic institution, and welcomes to its courses of instruction not only students from all parts of the Empire, but pupils from other countries as well.

Not content with providing a complete musical curriculum, the School has become a great dramatic academy, and trains pupils for every branch of the theatrical profession including stage dancing.

Besides eminent vocalists, like Carrie Tubb, Dora Labbette, Thorpe Bates, Raymond Newell, Robert Naylor and Margaret Fairless, and eminent instrumentalists such as Maurice Cole, Myra Hess, William Primrose, Roy Robertson and Douglas E. Hopkins, deputy organist of St. Paul's, the School has received among its students such famous exponents of the dramatic art as Sybil Thorndike, Edna Best and Noel Coward. These names have been supplied to me by the able and popular Secretary of the School, Mr. Saxe Wyndham, to whose admirable business administration the School owes almost as much as to the distinguished musicians who have charge of its professional direction.

Not a little of the success of this notable branch of the Corporation's activities is due to the fact that the School possesses an excellent theatre, where its students present musical and dramatic productions to packed audiences of the friends of the School and its pupils.

Notwithstanding its world-wide fame and great popularity, this fine institution is far from being self-supporting, and in the words of the Report to the Royal Commission in 1921, "has entailed a very heavy expense on the part of the Corporation."

The School Diploma examinations are recognised by the Teachers' Registration Council, and the institution constitutes a bright particular leaf in the City's wreath of bay.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE BIRTHPLACE OF BRITISH MEDICINE

"Honour a physician with the honour due unto him for the uses ye may have of him, for the Lord has created him."

Ecclesiasticus.

PASSING along Oxford Street to-day, it is difficult to realise that not so very long ago a lonely road between grass meadows once branched off this highway, and dipped into a brawling brook in the shadow of a little country church.

The brook was called Tyburn, and ran down from Hampstead to the Thames. It furnished as recently as the eighteenth century nine conduits which supplied the City of London with water.

The district had something of an evil reputation, for it gave its name to the famous gallows-tree of Tyburn, which was situated not far off in the roadway at the south end of the Edgware Road. One of the most disgraceful exhibitions in the records of British justice was the processions of the condemned criminals from Newgate Prison to the gallows-tree at Tyburn. These occasions were converted into something approximating national festivals, and the executions were carried out in the presence of huge mobs similar to those which are now to be found on a race-course.

It was not till 1783 that this ghastly ceremonial was replaced by the well-nigh equally revolting public executions in front of Newgate which continued until 1868.

The Manor of Tyburn was purchased in 1710 by John Holles, Duke of Newcastle, whose only daughter and

heiress, the Lady Henrietta Cavendish Holles, married Edward Harley, second Earl of Oxford and Mortimer, and the only daughter and heiress of this couple married the second Duke of Portland. Thus their property passed into the hands of the Portland family. The new owners proceeded to develop the estate, and the part known as Harley Fields was rapidly built over. Not unnaturally the new streets which came into being got their names from the mother and father of the Duchess of Portland; Cavendish Square, Henrietta Street and Holles Street were called after her mother, and Harley Street after her father. When the advisors of the Duchess sought to honour her parents in this way they little guessed they were naming what was to become the medical Mecca of the British Empire!

Up till the beginning of the last century all the great physicians and surgeons lived in the City. The reason for this being, no doubt, that the regular practice of medicine and surgery originated in the City. Indeed physicians and surgeons are mentioned in the City records in early times. When the Rector of St. Margaret Lothbury, in 1300, imported four dead wolves in a cask in order to cure *lupus*, all the physicians and surgeons of the City came into Court to testify that in none of their books could they find any disease for which the flesh of wolves was indicated, and the Rector was handed over to the ecclesiastical authorities. In 1408 a physician, who had received in advance certain jewels of great value on promise to cure a facial eruption called "*lepre*" and failed to do so, was condemned to return the fees. In spite of such incidents, the citizens had faith in the recognised medical profession and distrusted the unqualified man. The jurors of Farringdon Within in 1421 indicted the Rector of St. Vedast's for pretending to be a physician, "by which crafte," they complained, "he hath slain many a man." No doubt their faith was justified. In the medical treatises of the period, amid much astrology and many curious

prescriptions, there are to be found some remarkably sound rules of health. At the end of a long chapter on remedies a medieval physician concludes by recommending abstinence for digestive troubles; and exercise, work, and frequent ablutions for torpid livers and spleens.

By 1421 the physicians of London were organised as a faculty, and in that year they petitioned Henry V that no one be allowed to practice "but he have long tyme yused the scoles of Fisyk withynne some Universitie and be graduated in the same," and that unqualified men should forthwith repair to the Universities to be examined. Two years later they successfully petitioned the Court of Aldermen that they might be united with the surgeons of the City in one commonalty under their respective rectors and surveyors, that three houses might be assigned to them for headquarters, and that certain ordinances as to examinations, the reporting of cases, free treatment of the poor and the correction of bad practice might be authorised. Unfortunately, this promising association was short-lived.

There is little doubt that the next great step forward was inspired by the physicians of London, namely, the foundation of the Royal College of Physicians, which was at first limited to physicians practising in London and seven miles round.

The College was founded in 1518, when King Henry VIII was full of his youthful zeal for learning, and has continued without any material alteration in its constitution to the present day. Its existence and policy have profoundly affected the character and status of physicians in this country, but it can hardly be claimed that it has played as important a part as the older Universities in the teaching of physic, as throughout the Middle Ages there were recognised University teachers in medicine and degrees were conferred in this branch of learning.

The King was induced to set up the College by the

solicitation of Linacre, his physician, and on the advice and recommendation of Cardinal Wolsey. But some credit must also be given to the King himself, who was keenly interested in the new learning and the practice of medicine. The City records reveal that in 1543 he sent to Sir John Coates, Lord Mayor, the prescription of a remedy against the plague, with a recommendation that it be notified to the commons of the City. It consisted of "sage vertew," herb grace, elderberry leaves and red bramble leaves pounded and strained into white wine mixed with ginger. "Drincke of that medicine," said the King, "a spoonefull everie daie 9 days togeather. After the first spoonefull they shal be safe for the hole yeare—by the grace of God."

The original College consisted of six physicians, and was empowered to appoint four of its number, styled Censors, to whom were consigned the correction and government of physic and its professors, together with the examination of all medicines and the power of punishing offenders by fine and imprisonment, "or by other reasonable ways."

Linacre was the first President, an office he continued to hold till his death on October 20th, 1524. His influence was so great that a year before his death he was able to obtain an Act of Parliament, establishing the College as the Examining Board for all physicians throughout England, except those who had graduated at Oxford and Cambridge. The early meetings of the College were held at Linacre's house, situated in Knightrider Street, which continued in the possession of the College until the year 1860, when it was taken for the Court of Probate.

Linacre was not merely a physician, but a man of learning and of letters. Dr. Johnson says of him that "for his accurate skill in the Greek and Latin tongues, in other sciences, and in his own profession, he was esteemed the ornament of his age. By his endeavours Galen speaks better Latin in the translation than he did Greek in the

original; and Aristotle shines not more in his Attic than in his Latin garb."

From 1518 till the reign of James I, the College met in the house given to it by Linacre. It then moved to Amen Corner, to the north-west of the Cathedral, where are now the houses of the canons residentiary, but after the Great Fire in 1666, when its buildings were destroyed, it was rebuilt by Wren at the end of Warwick Lane, the ancient street which takes its present name from the house once situate in it of the great Earl of Warwick, the kingmaker of the Wars of the Roses, but which had existed many centuries before his time under the designation of Eldenes Lane. Here the College remained till it removed to its present site in Pall Mall East, in 1823.

The College of Physicians, like the Universities, was essentially a Society or Guild at the outset, and in its old home in Warwick Lane made a feature of demonstrations and instructions in its theatre and botanical garden.

The College preserves many ancient customs which are reminiscent of Guild ceremonial, and the election of its President, which takes place every year on the Monday after Palm Sunday, closely resembles the procedure in the College of Cardinals at the election of a Pope. The Fellows, having assembled in the great library of the College and the office of President having been declared vacant, proceed to the election of any Fellow of not less than ten years' standing. No proposal is made, but each Fellow writes on a slip of paper the name which he approves; the votes thus given are collected in a silver bowl, are publicly enumerated, and the decision announced to the College by its senior Censor, the officer next to the President in dignity. A second voting on the names of the two Fellows who obtain most votes, where several are proposed, is sometimes necessary, and an absolute majority then determines the election. At the conclusion the Bedell of the College carries round a dish from which he gives



J. S. Lyde, sculp.

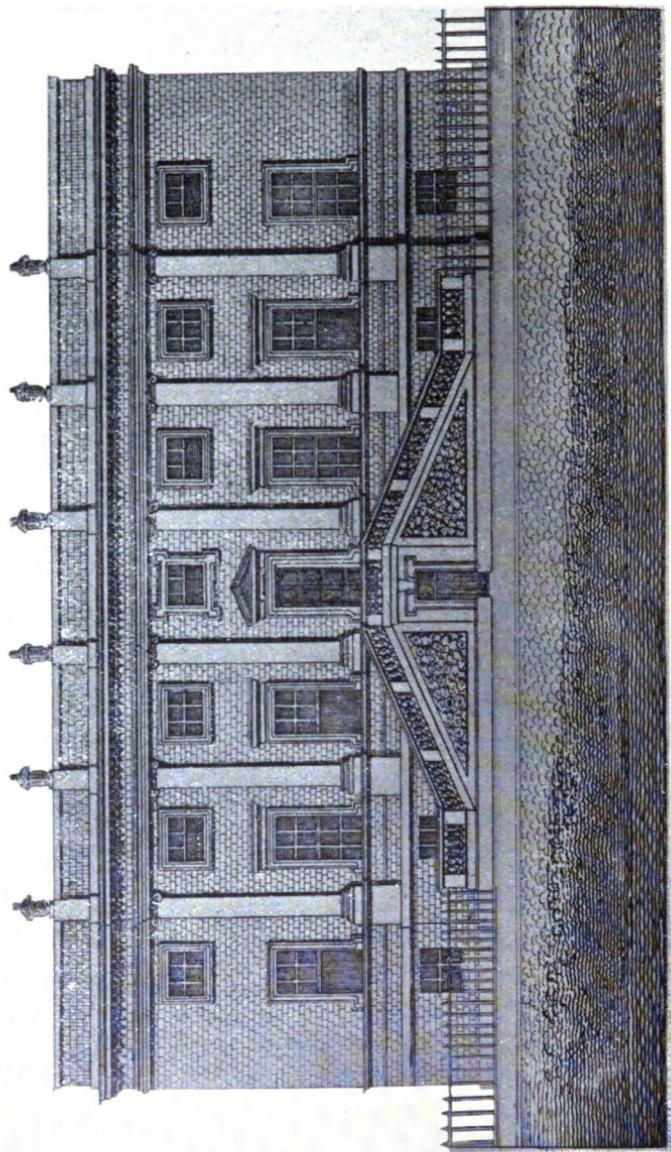
Collegium Regale
Medicorum LONDINENSIMUM.

[By kind permission of Messrs. Raphael Tuck & Sons, Ltd.
THE OLD ROYAL COLLEGE OF PHYSICIANS IN WARWICK SQUARE
The Inner Court Yard.]

[Face page 216]

[By kind permission of Messrs Raphael Tuck & Sons, Ltd.

THE OLD SURGEONS' HALL IN THE OLD BAILEY



Face page 217]

each Fellow present a new half-crown piece. The President is vested in a black damask gown embroidered with gold, and at the beginning of every meeting of the College has a mace carried before him and placed on the table, and always enters with a silver sceptre, or rod of office, in his hand. This sceptre, which has four small serpents at the top, was made in 1556, and was first borne by Dr. Caius, then President, after whom Caius College, Cambridge, is called.

The College seems to have got on quite well with the early practitioners of surgery, but came into conflict with the apothecaries, as we shall see.

The Physicians, though recognised as a Mistery and regulated by the Court of Aldermen in 1423, do not appear to have ever obtained the status of a Livery Company, and after the foundation of the Royal College in 1518 its members seem, like University graduates, to have been content with their position as members of a learned Society. In this respect the College seems to have developed on somewhat similar lines to the Inns of Court and Chancery. There were, however, two essential differences. The College never developed the residential character which was such an essential feature of the Inns, and whereas the lawyers never asked for incorporation from the Sovereigns in whose smiles they basked, the physicians eagerly sought charters from various Kings and Queens.

The College of Surgeons has had a very different origin from the College of Physicians. This great Fraternity was originally associated with the Physicians, but in 1423 became a separate organization and obtained new ordinances for its craft in 1435 and a grant of arms in 1492. The members of the Guild of Surgeons were, at first, little more than rivals of the medieval Barbers. They were, however, men of superior education, and indeed the surgical specialists of the period, but they were few in number, and the humbler Barbers being better organized got the upper hand of them.

The pre-eminence of the tonsorial artists was clinched by obtaining a charter in 1462 which not only confirmed to them the right of treating "wounds, bruises, hurts and other ailments of our lieges," but gave them exemption from jury service and power to fine and imprison!

Eighty years later the Surgeons saw that opposition was futile, and submitted to an Act of Parliament which united the two crafts into one organization, while laying down that the barber-members should occupy no surgery except the drawing of teeth, and the surgeons should use no shaving! The united fraternity became known as the Company of Barber-Surgeons. The uneasy union of two bodies, each maintaining its entity, lasted for more than two hundred years, but in 1745 the Surgeons broke away from the Barbers and were re-constituted as a separate company by Act of Parliament.

The Barbers retained the old Hall in Monkwell Street with books, plate, pictures and even the ancient records of the Surgeons who established themselves in a Hall of their own in Old Bailey. Towards the end of the eighteenth century, Surgeons' Hall became rather delapidated, and the Court decided to move to a new freehold site in Lincoln's Inn Fields.

The next step was taken in 1800, when the Surgeons' Company was dissolved and re-incorporated as "the Royal College of Surgeons in London." This title was changed in 1843 to the "Royal College of Surgeons of England."

The Charter granted by George III definitely severed the connection of the College with the Corporation of the City. Members of the College were not entitled to any franchise belonging to Freemen of the City, but all other privileges and possessions acquired under former Acts and Charters were continued and ratified. The Court of Assistants still consisted of twenty-one members appointed for life, with power to fill up vacancies as they might happen, and from them were chosen ten Examiners, the Master and two

Governors or Wardens being selected from these ten. The two principal Sergeant-Surgeons and the Surgeon-General to the Forces, were always appointed to the Court in preference to all other persons, as vacancies occurred.

A further Charter, granted by George IV in 1822, changed the titles Master and Governors to President and Vice-Presidents, and provided that the Court of Assistants should in future be styled the Council of the College, thus completely changing the constitution of the Surgeons from that of a City Guild to that of a modern educational body.

It is rather difficult to realise nowadays that the eighteenth century examination at the old Surgeons' *Hall* (*it was not a college, be it remembered*) was entirely oral, and lasted about twenty minutes. The usual procedure in the eighteenth century was for an aspiring surgeon to be apprenticed to a practitioner in the country and to come up to London for this examination. The surgeon-apprentices were enrolled in very much the same manner as those of the other City Companies, and we find in the old records of Surgeons' Hall some rather quaint regulations for their good conduct. For example, they were not allowed to have a beard of more than fifteen days' growth, and if they offended in this respect they had to pay a fine of 6s. 8d. The fee for the apprentice's examination was a silver spoon with his name upon it, weighing one ounce, and 7d. to the clerk of the Hall for writing and seal. The fee for the diploma was, in those halycon days, only £6 6s.

Up till 1617 the Physicians and Barber-Surgeons had it all their own way with regard to the practice of medicine and surgery, but that year saw the birth of a new Fraternity, which introduced into the art of healing a fresh type of practitioner. This body was styled the Apothecaries. They split off from the Grocers' Company and were granted great powers by their charter, which even limited the commercial status of the surgeon, as it enacted that "expert and approved Chirurgeons may exercise their Art and

Faculty with regard to the composition and application of outward Salves or Medicines only so that they do not vend or expose for sale to others such Salves or Medicines according to the common manner of Apothecaries of the City of London."

When first constituted, the Apothecaries do not appear to have done much prescribing, but it was not long before they began to practise what the modern pharmacist would call "counter prescribing".

Naturally the College of Physicians was up in arms. A wordy war broke out, and the greatest poets of the period took sides with the Physicians. First Dryden, then Pope, fought on the side of the doctors against the humbler men, whom they were taught to consider as mere greedy mechanics and empirics.

Dryden first let fly his mighty shaft:

"The apothecary tribe is wholly blind;
From files a random recipe they take,
And many deaths from one prescription make.
Garth, generous as his muse, prescribes and gives;
The shopman sells, and by destruction lives."

Pope followed with a smaller but keener arrow:

"So modern 'pothecaries, taught the art
By doctors' bills to play the doctor's part,
Bold in the practice of mistaken rules,
Prescribe, apply, and call their masters fools."

Addison, however, took a fairer view, and backed up the humbler practitioners.

The physicians charged the apothecaries with over-charging for their medicines, and took definite action against them by establishing at Warwick Lane a Dispensary for the poor, at which medicines were supplied at cost price. This did not meet with the approval of many members of

the College, and the profession was divided into two hostile camps—the Dispensarians and the Anti-Dispensarians.

Sir Samuel Garth, the poet-physician whom everybody loved, was anything but friendly to the new class of doctor. In his great poem “*The Dispensary*,” he describes in the Hogarthian manner the topographical position of Apothecaries’ Hall:

“ Nigh where Fleet Ditch descends in sable streams,
To wash the sooty Naiads in the Thames,
There stands a structure on a rising hill,
Where tyros take their freedom out to kill.”

The poem, which passed rapidly through many editions, cruelly caricatures not only the apothecaries but his brother physicians, the anti-Dispensarians.

Garth, however, lived to see the apothecaries gradually emancipate themselves from the ignominious regulations to which they consented when their vocation was first separated from the grocery trade. Four years after his death they obtained legal acknowledgment of their right to dispense and sell medicines without the prescription of a physician; and six years later the law again decided in their favour with regard to the physicians’ right of examining and condemning their drugs.

The Apothecaries alone of the three great Corporations which were born within the City’s boundaries continue to live and work in the City.

Indeed, this famous Fraternity seems to go from strength to strength. It still grants its diploma to practise medicine, surgery and midwifery, and attracts a steady stream of aspirants to its ancient parchments; whilst its diplomates may be found in every kind of medical and surgical practice and in every quarter of the globe.

The great Royal Colleges of Physicians and Surgeons have their stately modern homes in the West End, but the Society of Apothecaries maintains its old-world House in

Blackfriars, where the work of the grand old Guild goes on. Only a few years ago it was possible on the same premises to

- (1) Buy a box of pills.
- (2) Purchase a ton of senna or any other drug.
- (3) Obtain a diploma as a dispenser.
- (4) Graduate in medicine, surgery and midwifery.
- (5) Become a Liveryman of a City Guild and thus qualify for office as Lord Mayor of London.

It is no longer possible to make wholesale and retail purchases of drugs in the Society's premises, but it is still possible in its beautiful Livery Hall to qualify as a doctor, a dispenser, a bio-physical assistant, obtain a specialist's diploma, or take the first step on the road to becoming a Lord Mayor!

CHAPTER XIX

CHARITY

In faith and hope the world will disagree
But all mankind's concern is charity.

POPE.

As pointed out in a previous chapter, the most striking feature of the work of the Courts of Aldermen and Common Council has been the manner in which they shouldered their responsibilities when the Dissolution of the Monasteries threw upon the lay public the necessity for organizing a system of relief for the poor and suffering "at their gates."

I have already sketched the manner in which the Royal Hospitals came under the administration of the City, and referred briefly to the Royal Hospitals of St. Bartholomew, St. Thomas, Bethlem and Bridewell.

Christ's Hospital, as we have seen, has never been a hospital in the modern sense, except, perhaps, for a short time after its refounding. The covenants between Edward VI and the City, June 12th, 1553, and the King's Letters Patent of June 26th, 1553, only contemplate sustenance of the poor, and this was interpreted by the City, in the case of Christ's Hospital, to mean poor children and pensions. The ordinances of 1557 provide for the admission of poor children and the payment of pensions to poor persons either "in the parische or in this hospitall."

St. Bartholomew's was founded eight centuries ago by the Monk Rahere, but the Common Council and the Guilds of the City were the second founders, supplementing from

their own resources the income from such of the landed property as Henry VIII restored to the Hospital.

It has been the special pride of the City for nearly four hundred years, as it lies wholly within its boundaries.

Great citizens have been its benefactors from the days of Whittington to our own time, and it is bound to the Corporation to-day by the closest ties of affection and interest.

The Royal Hospital of St. Thomas, like Christ's Hospital, has wandered far from the City. It was founded in Southwark in the thirteenth century by the Canons of St. Mary Overy and the Prior of Bermondsey, and purchased, as already mentioned, by the City in 1552, to provide accommodation for the sick in the important suburb at the other side of London Bridge. The Hospital remained in Southwark until about 1870, when it was transferred to its present commanding site on the south side of Westminster Bridge.

These two great religious foundations of St. Bartholomew and St. Thomas have steadily developed into two of the greatest and most important hospitals in Europe.

Both have been fortunate in attracting to their staffs physicians, surgeons and scientists of the highest rank, and both have built up medical colleges of outstanding fame.

"Bart's" and "Thomas's" are names to conjure with wherever modern medicine is known and studied, but they have a younger sister which, without the prestige of being a Royal Hospital or an ancient foundation, has become a friendly rival and attained a renown equal to their own.

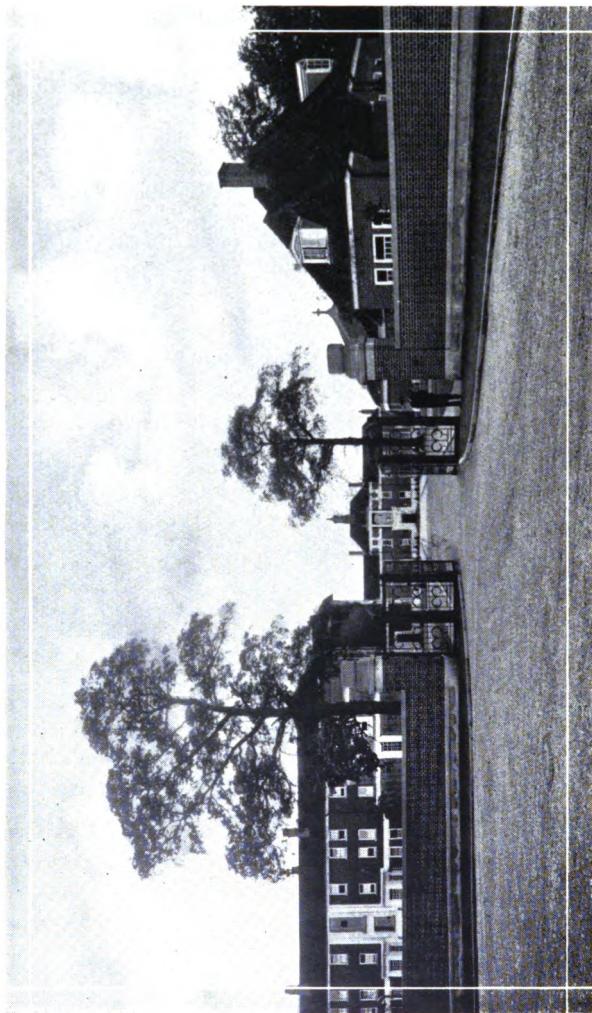
"Guy's" is just as much a City foundation as either of the other two great institutions.

Thomas Guy was a bookseller in Lombard Street who, when the English public went mad over speculation in the South Sea Company, kept his head and sold out before the bubble burst. He realized nearly a quarter of a million and, like the good fellow he was, built and endowed a great hospital in Southwark which bears his name.

Starting so long behind "Bart's" and "Thomas's" the



[By kind permission of Mr. John Lane, The Bodley Head, from "Bridewell Hospital," by E. G. O'Donoghue.]
THE ADMISSION OF H.R.H. THE DUKE OF CONNAUGHT AS A GOVERNOR OF THE ROYAL HOSPITALS OF BRIDEWELL
AND BETHLEEM



[By permission of the Royal Hospital.

THE ROYAL HOSPITAL OF BETHLEM
Entrance to New Building at Monks' Orchard

"new" hospital must have had a difficult task to keep up with its peers; but it has managed to do so, and the rivalry—if any exists—between these three great City hospitals and their splendid medical schools is of the friendliest character.

The Corporation appoint Governors to the four groups of Royal Hospitals, but has no voice in the management of "Guy's." Notwithstanding the lack of official connection the noble-hearted Thomas Guy has found many successors amongst the merchants, bankers, and professional men who have found fame and fortune on the other side of London Bridge.

The Hospital of St. Mary of Bethlehem has a most romantic history. It was founded by a Sheriff of London in the thirteenth century, and given to the City at the Dissolution of the Religious Houses as a home for the mentally afflicted. It was placed under the management of the Bridewell Governors on September 27th, 1557.

Its name was corrupted into "Bedlam," and the word has crept into our dictionaries, signifying a madhouse or a noisy place. The treatment of the inmates left much to be desired in the early days of the institution. When more or less "cured" they were discharged from hospital with a leaden badge which they wore on their left arms and which was used as a sort of certificate entitling them to the alms of the charitable. These unfortunate vagrants were called "Toms of Bedlam," and wore suspended round their necks horns constructed so that they could be used for both blowing and drinking purposes.

On approaching a house they first wound their horns and then proffered them to be filled with some beverage—preferably beer. Shakespeare refers to this queer custom in *King Lear* when he makes Edgar say, "Come, march to wakes and fairs and market towns. Poor Tom, thy horn is dry."

We have already referred to the barbarous spectacle which was offered at "Bedlam" right up to the eighteenth

century, when a visit to the institution was one of the sights of London.

More humane methods were instituted when the great hospital was moved to St. George's Fields in 1815, and for many years past the most enlightened treatment of the mentally afflicted has originated from this ancient foundation.

In the beautiful surroundings of Monk's Orchard the patients are now treated under ideal conditions, and the number of cases which are restored to health, amongst a class of sufferer once regarded as hopeless, now compares very favourably with the results of the treatment of ordinary medical and surgical cases in a general hospital.

The President of the Royal Hospitals of Bethlem and Bridewell, Lord Wakefield, may well be proud of the famous foundations under his kindly rule. The other Royal Hospitals have merely had to deal with the care of the ordinary sick and with the provision of education for poor children, but the Royal Hospitals of Bethlem and Bridewell have had to deal with a very different type of charity. The provision for the insane and for the vagabond has in the past been a mixture of superstitious folly and stupid ferocity. The insane were looked upon as afflicted by God and as the special care of the charitable, but their actual symptoms were treated by methods characterized by unbelievable cruelty and repression. The attitude of our forefathers towards unfortunate women and to persons of both sexes who came under the legal classification of rogues and vagabonds was equally inhuman.

For a short period in Tudor times vagabonds, often at the rate of twenty at a time, perished on the gallows. But the severity of the punishment failed to check crime, and in many cases drove the offender to the more desperate deed of murder in the hope of escaping detection.

It was not till 1824 that the present Vagrancy Act was passed, and it is interesting to recall that a refractory

apprentice was committed to Bridewell so recently as 1911. The cells are still maintained as a warning to young offenders.

The present attitude towards offenders against our laws was largely due to the labours of John Howard, followed by Mrs. Elizabeth Fry, who began her humane work at Newgate.

So even our modern notions as to the right treatment of delinquents and the prevention of crime are largely due to the philanthropic enterprise which started in the City.

It would be wearisome to enumerate the countless charitable institutions in which the Corporation is interested, but it may be useful to mention a few little known benefactions which are administered by the Court of Aldermen, the City Chamberlain and the Court of Common Council.

Noteworthy amongst these Trusts is Emanuel Hospital, the Educational Branch of which has been referred to in the chapter on Schools. This Charity provides pensions varying between £25 and £12 a year for 120 major pensioners and twenty minor pensioners "being poor persons resident in Westminster, Chelsea and Hayes (Middlesex)."

The fact that this Foundation—created at Westminster for the benefit of persons having no connection with the City—was placed in the charge of the Lord Mayor and aldermen in 1623 is evidence of the confidence which, for centuries past, charitable persons and organizations have placed in the administrative capacity of the Corporation and its fidelity to fiduciary obligations.

The London Almshouses are further evidence of this fact.

When the great Reform Act of 1832 was passed, public rejoicing led to the collection of large sums to celebrate the event.

The City collections were so considerable that a large surplus was left over, and the trustees decided to devote this balance to the provision of almshouses for decayed householders "free of the City."

Land was purchased and buildings erected, but there was no money left to endow the new foundation, so the Corporation was asked to "hold the baby."

As usual the City Fathers were ready and willing to step into the breach and the Reform Almshouses at Brixton were taken over in 1848 and renamed the London Almshouses.

The original buildings had to be rebuilt in 1855, when provision was made for the housing of twenty married couples and twenty single persons in distressed circumstances.

Candidates for admission must be Freemen Householders of seven years' standing, or their widows or daughters. They are nominated in rotation as vacancies occur by the Aldermen and Common Councilmen of each Ward, and admitted by the Court of Common Council after approval by the Freemen's School Committee. They receive in the almshouses not only housing, fuel and light, but a weekly allowance for their maintenance.

Adjoining the London Almshouses are six similar homes for aged couples founded by the munificence of Robert Rogers in the reign of James I.

These houses, originally in Hart Street, Cripplegate, were transferred to Brixton in the middle of the last century. The inmates are appointed by the Court of Aldermen on the nomination of the Lord Mayor. Also at Brixton are the eight Gresham Almshouses maintained out of the City's moiety of the estate left by Sir Thomas Gresham jointly to the Corporation and the Mercers' Company. The almshouses are administered by the City side of the Gresham Committee.

One of the most interesting of the charitable foundations of the City is Morden College at Blackheath, founded by Sir John Morden, a member of the Turkey Company, for the benefit of poor or decayed merchants of the City of London. The College was built by Sir Christopher Wren

in 1700, and was administered by the founder himself up till his death in 1708. By the terms of the beneficent baronet's will, the charity was administered by Trustees elected from the Turkey Company from 1708 to 1826, and from the East India Company from 1827 to 1884, but since 1884 the College has been managed by seven Trustees elected by the Court of Aldermen.

Forty-two Pensioners are accommodated in the College, which is provided with a chapel, library, baths and recreation rooms and situated in charming grounds.

Each pensioner receives £160 a year, with fire and lighting, and there is an allowance for furniture on entry.

In addition to the In-Pensioners, there are now 234 Out-Pensioners who receive up to £100 a year, and included in the Out-Pension List are fifty-six widows.

The income from Sir John Morden's bequest has risen from £804 in 1721 to some £60,000 in 1932. The charity is an instance of the way in which the value of bequests has become enhanced in the progress of years, which in this case has enabled the Governors to extend very largely the good work carried on by this excellent institution.

Lord Wakefield is the Senior Trustee, and opened the proceedings at the laying of the Foundation Stone for a new hospital and staff quarters, which took place on July 19th, 1932.

Quite different to these beneficent institutions for City men who have fallen by the way is Wilson's Loan Charity, which is administered by the Chamberlain for the Trustees who are the Lord Mayor, the Recorder, the two senior Aldermen and the Chamberlain himself. It was founded by the late Samuel Wilson, of Hatton Garden, who, by his will, dated October 27th, 1766, bequeathed a sum of £20,000 to the Chamberlain of the City of London for the purpose of granting loans in sums of £100 to £300 to young men who have been in business in the City of London, or within three miles thereof, between one and two years,

at one per cent. for the first year and two per cent. for the remaining years of the term.

The qualifications of borrowers specified in the testator's will have been enlarged under various schemes, and special conditions made to apply in the case of men who have served during the Great War in His Majesty's Naval, Military or Air Forces.

In the case of men who have served during the Great War, loans in sums of £25 to £200 may be made to assist a borrower who was under the age of 40 years when he joined His Majesty's Forces to enable him to acquire a business or partnership interest.

Each borrower of £200 or less is required to find one surety, and three sureties in the case of a loan exceeding £200, and the loans are allowed to be repaid by instalments (if desired), but are not renewable.

Mention must be made of the Mansion House Funds which have been started by various Lord Mayors and Lady Mayoresses during the past sixty odd years whenever any great disaster has occurred either in this country or abroad.

Sir William Soulsby tells an interesting story about one of the first of these Funds, which was started in 1871 for the relief of the sufferers in the Siege of Paris.

The Lord Mayor of the day was waited on one morning at the Mansion House by a well-dressed visitor who described himself as the Marquis de Morancy, Mayor of Chateaudun, and spoke excellent English. He pleaded for the refugees from Paris who had fled to his town, and he worked on the Lord Mayor's feelings so skilfully that £500 was handed to him. This was long before the invention of telephones, and there was no time to make inquiries. The Lord Mayor had a dinner at the Mansion House that evening, and he persuaded the Marquis to be present. His speech was reported next day in *The Times*, when it was ascertained

that the visitor was an impostor. Years afterwards he died in prison while in custody for another offence.

The record of these Mansion House Funds is a magnificent one, as more than twelve millions sterling have been collected since these splendid charities were first inaugurated.

Succeeding viceroys of the City have vied with each other in assisting distress and suffering not only throughout the Empire but in every part of the globe.

Lord Mayor after Lord Mayor has been ever ready to pour the healing balm of consolation into the bosom of the afflicted.

In the promotion of these great schemes of relief the Rulers of the City have raised their high office far above civic or even national levels, and made themselves great international ambassadors of friendship and right royal Almoners for the whole of suffering humanity.

CHAPTER XX

LAW AND ORDER

"Of Law there can be no less acknowledged than that her seat is the bosom of God, her voice the harmony of the world."

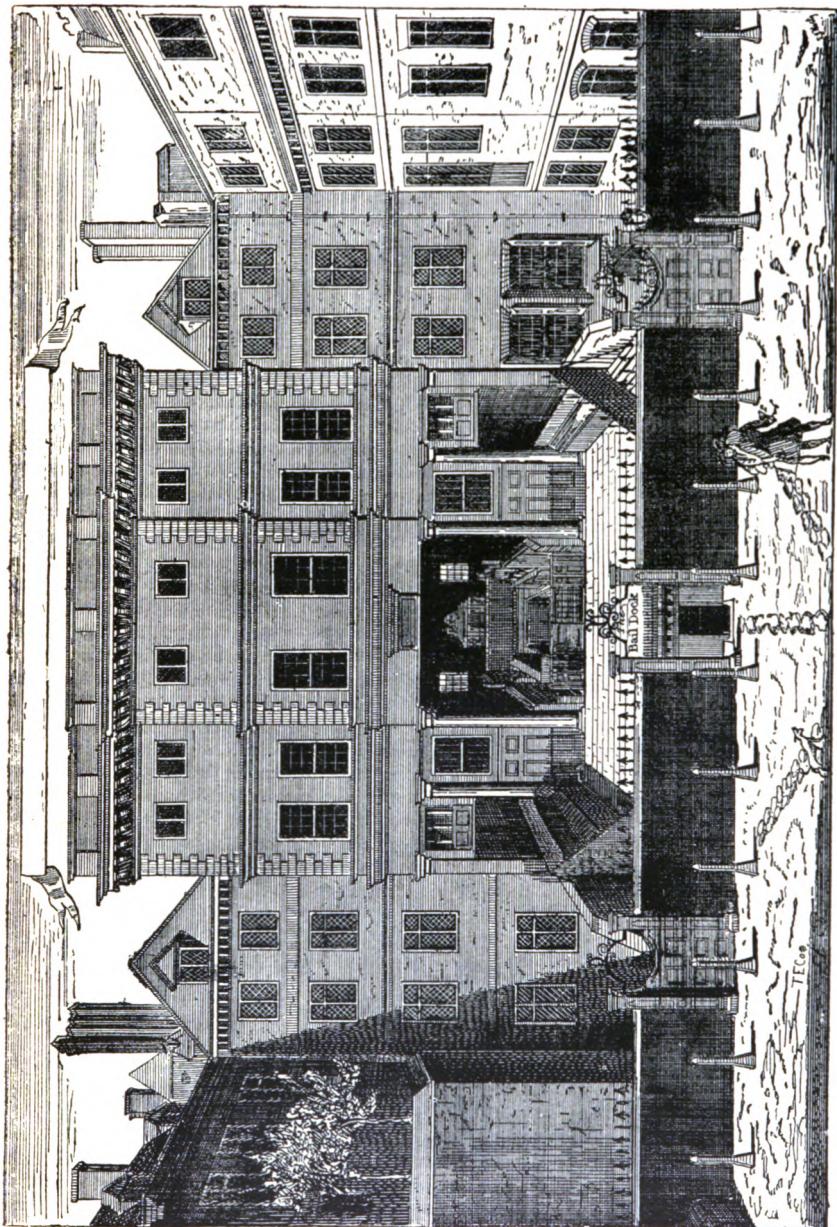
RICHARD HOOKER, *circa* 1583.

"Let all things be done decently and in order."

I Corinthians XIV, 40.

THE peculiar position of the City of London as a semi-independent State within the State, is nowhere better exemplified than in the domain of law and justice. From Anglo-Saxon times until the present day London has preserved her own courts and distinctive City Law, and the Lord Mayor and Aldermen to-day hold a position as Justices without parallel elsewhere in the kingdom. In the Middle Ages, whenever a decision in the City Courts was questioned, it was sufficient for the Recorder to explain the custom of the City, which was accepted without demur, for this custom was recognised to be of equal antiquity and authority with the Common Law. The King's Justices only concerned themselves with the question as to whether the City Judges had duly observed the law and custom of the City in the action before them.

The history of these privileges takes us very far back into the past. We hear of commercial cases being tried in London in the seventh century. Three hundred years later a document called "The Judgments of the City of London" throws a clear light on criminal justice and the manner of apprehending, trying and punishing thieves and other offenders. The citizens of London were so deeply attached to their own customs that when they



THE OLD SESSIONS HOUSE, OLD BAILEY, 1750
From an old print.

[Face page 232

[Photo : Bedford, Lemere & Co.]

THE NEW SESSIONS HOUSE, OLD BAILEY



Face page 233]

obtained their charter from William the Conqueror—a charter which was more in the nature of a treaty than a gift—its principal clause granted that they should enjoy the same law as they had done under Edward the Confessor.

Civic Law, however, was of little value unless it was administered by one who had grown up under it and was familiar with its principles. This truth was admitted by the great charter of Henry I, issued about 1132, which promised that the citizens should appoint whom they would of themselves for "keeping the pleas of the Crown . . . and that none other should be justiciar over them." The charter also confirms the old legal customs of London both as regards civil and criminal causes, and regulates the procedure of the folk-mote and Husting.

Whether the citizens appointed the justiciars of the next thirty years or not is unknown, but at any rate these officers were undoubtedly citizens. The folk-mote by this time had ceased to be a law court, and met but three times a year for the choosing of Sheriffs, the appointment of the Watch and theconcerting of measures against fire. There is reason to believe that it was in the Husting that the justiciars heard the pleas of the Crown, or in other words dispensed criminal jurisdiction, while the Sheriffs and Aldermen dealt with civil cases.

The reign of Henry II saw great changes in the administration of the law. As regards civil actions, it is on record that the procedure of the City in disputes relating to land was explained to the King, who declared that it was a good custom, and in the upshot there was no interference with this branch of the City Law. But as regards the Criminal Law, more serious charges were reserved for the King's Itinerant Justices, who, in the case of London, held their Sessions, at rare intervals, at the Tower of London. Nevertheless a certain amount of criminal justice was dispensed at the Guildhall, for at

the end of the century we find the Mayor, who had succeeded to the position of the Justiciar, doing justice on men charged with treason and on others guilty of the felony of theft.

In the thirteenth century a further development took place. From time to time Commissions of Justices were empowered to deliver the Gaol of Newgate, to which malefactors of London and Middlesex, caught in the act or indicted by the Wards of the City and the Hundreds of Middlesex, were consigned. And here the old right of the City to appoint their Justiciar was not forgotten. Though it was not until the charter of Edward III in 1327 that the Mayor was declared to be *ex officio* a Justice of Gaol Delivery, nevertheless he figures continually in the Commissions for a century before.

In the Gaol Delivery Rolls of the period the Mayor and his fellow Justices may be seen at work. It must be admitted that the administration of criminal justice in old London, and in the kingdom generally, was a curious mixture of leniency and ferocity, and that since those days there has been a vast change for the better. At the end of the thirteenth century such offences as forgery, fraudulent conversion and demanding money by menaces were merely punishable in the Mayor's Court by fines, the pillory and imprisonment, whereas the petty thief had to answer for his life at Newgate. Refusal to plead was looked upon as a serious offence, as the punishment was "diet," which meant confinement in a dismal dungeon on a diet of foul bread and water until the prisoner was forced to speak. A boy under twelve years of age, who had been guilty of a petty theft, was branded for life by having an ear cut off, while batches of sturdy vagabonds were sometimes sent to the gallows for no specific crime, but because they were "known" to the indicting juries of the Wards as habitual thieves and receivers. Such was the law but it must be remembered the London Justices and Petty Juries took

every legitimate means of distinguishing between the hardened criminal and the first offender, as evidenced by a number of the verdicts and judgments recorded.

In these early days the Mayor's duties were no sinecure. He sat in Court and gave judgments. But in course of time, as the law grew more intricate, its exercise tended to fall into the hands of trained Justices, while the Mayor became rather a guardian than a dispenser of justice. As such, his pre-eminence was recognised by the Central Criminal Court Act of 1834, in which he is named as the first Commissioner, taking precedence even of the Lord Chancellor. By the same Act the Aldermen, Recorder, Common Serjeant and the Judges of the Sheriffs' Court (now represented by the Judge of the Mayor's and City of London Court) were included in the Commission.

These Commissions now extend to the hearing and determining of all treasons, murders, felonies and misdemeanours committed within the City of London, the County of London (as constituted by the Local Government Act of 1888), the County of Middlesex, and certain parts of the Counties of Essex, Kent and Surrey.

The position of the Lord Mayor and aldermen as Justices is without parallel elsewhere. In every part of the realm, except the City, His Majesty's Justices can sit alone for the trial of most cases, but in the Central Criminal Court, the presence of the Lord Mayor and aldermen is essential. The Lord Mayor or his deputy attends in full state at the opening of the first Session after his election, and also attends the Court at the beginning of each session during his Mayoralty, hearing and disposing of objections by persons summoned to serve upon the Grand Jury. He receives His Majesty's Judges on the first day of their attendance in the legal year, and takes the chair on the opening day of the Michaelmas Sittings, when the Sessions are fixed. Technically he is always supposed to be present, as in his absence he is represented by the Old Bailey Sword—

already referred to—suspended over his chair. While the Lord Mayor's actual attendance is thus necessary for the opening of the Court, its continuance may be said to be dependent on the presence of the aldermen, each of whom pledges himself to be present on days selected by himself according to seniority.

The Central Criminal Court may justly be described as the City's own Palace of Justice. As far back as 1190 the old Gate of Newgate was serving as a prison for London and Middlesex, and there took place the Deliveries of the Gaol. But until 1539 there does not appear to have existed any specific Justice Hall or Sessions House for the trial of prisoners. In that year the Common Council decided to build "a convenient place upon the common grownde of thys Cytte yn the olde bayly of London at the charges of the Chambre of London." In 1774 a new Sessions House was completed, and in 1785 the great work of reconstructing the prison, which had gone on for many years, was brought to a conclusion. At the beginning of the present century the gaol was discontinued, and the present splendid building erected on the site of the Sessions House and Prison.

The new "Old Bailey" has accommodation for holding five Courts simultaneously. This magnificent Court House contains some fine mural paintings by Sir W. B. Richmond and Professor Gerald Moira. It is maintained entirely by the Corporation, which also pays the salaries of the Recorder and Common Serjeant.

Less serious offences in the City fall within the jurisdiction of the Peace, which had its own peculiar development in London, and is to-day distinguished from that of other cities by well-marked differences. In the country at large in the later thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, local magnates were commissioned to apprehend offenders against the peace and present them for punishment to the King's Justices, and it was not till 1361 that these *custodes pacis*, or Keepers of the Peace, were generally entrusted with

the power of hearing and determining and punishing such offences.

In the City of London, however, the Mayor and aldermen were regarded as "holding the City for the King," and they are to be found dealing from time to time with breaches of the King's peace throughout the thirteenth century. From 1281 onwards a continuous series of royal writs confirmed their power of inflicting punishment and indemnified them against all proceedings for so doing. It is not untrue to say that the system of Justices of the Peace was "tried out" in London eighty years before it was generally adopted in the kingdom as a whole. When in 1361 Commissions of the Peace and of *oyer and terminer* were issued to gentlemen in the counties and boroughs, London's ancient jurisdiction was considered to need no further sanction, and the Mayor and aldermen continued, as they had done in the past, to carry on these important duties.

However, by a charter of 1444, followed by another of Edward IV in 1462, the City's jurisdiction was brought into line with the national system. In the latter charter it was laid down that the Mayor, Recorder and aldermen who had passed the Chair should be Keepers of the King's Peace, and that they and any four of them should be Justices of Oyer and Terminer, to hear and determine all manner of felonies, trespasses and misdemeanours within the City. Subsequently a charter of King George II in 1741 appointed all aldermen to be Justices of the Peace.

Thus the only Justices of the Peace qualified to act in the City of London are the Lord Mayor, Recorder and aldermen. The City has no stipendiary magistrate, as the aldermen have the power, held in other parts of London by these gentlemen, of sitting alone and dealing with cases which in other parts of the country must be dealt with by not less than two Justices.

The more important duties under the jurisdiction of the Peace are transacted in the City Court of Quarter Sessions.

This Court represents those ancient sittings for the preservation of the peace, which were held in the City long before the institution of Quarter Sessions. But when in 1462 City practice was brought into line with the national system, Quarter Sessions in the modern sense may be said to have come into existence. The Court sits eight times a year, "to try felonies, trespasses and other misdemeanours committed in the City or its liberties." The presence of the Lord Mayor or an alderman who has passed the Chair, or of the Recorder, and at least three other aldermen, is necessary to form a Court.

For centuries serious cases were tried at Quarter Sessions in Guildhall, but owing to the proximity of the Old Bailey, the work of the Quarter Sessions has been lightened. As a matter of convenience criminal cases are tried at the Central Criminal Court, which has a concurrent jurisdiction, and thus the Quarter Sessions, though its powers remain unimpaired, does not undertake the same class of cases as similar Courts elsewhere. It deals with incorrigible rogues and persons considered by the City Courts of Summary Jurisdiction to be suitable for Borstal treatment, and appeals against convictions, and orders and rates are disposed of, together with other business relating to forfeited recognisances, lunacy and mental deficiency, under various Acts of Parliament.

The minor jurisdiction of the Peace is exercised in two Courts of Summary jurisdiction which sit daily in the City, one at the Mansion House Justice Room before the Lord Mayor or a senior alderman, and the other at the Guildhall Justices' Room before one of the aldermen, who form a rota for the performance of this duty. There is nothing ceremonial or nominal about the alderman's presence in these Courts. Hard judicial work is the lot of any citizen who puts on the aldermanic gown, and in course of time he gains great experience in dealing with indictable and summary offences, civil debt and other quasi-civil cases.

The business transacted at the Mansion House Justice Room includes that which arises to the southward of a boundary line drawn from Leadenhall Street to Holborn Viaduct, and the business at Guildhall embraces that arising in so much of the City as lies to the northward of that line. It frequently occurs that a heavy remanded case, or press of business, requires the attendance of a second alderman at one or other of the Courts.

The civil jurisdiction of the City, as we have seen, was exercised in the ancient Court of Husting, and was left unchallenged in the thirteenth century, when for a while it seemed as though the City might lose its criminal jurisdiction. The Court of Husting was the general mother Court of the City, and gave birth on the administrative side to the Courts of Aldermen and Common Council. On the judicial side, by the end of the twelfth century it had already delegated personal pleas in debt, trespass and covenant to separate Sheriffs' Courts, and during the next century a Mayor's Court came into existence, which entertained the actions of visiting foreign merchants and citizens in mercantile matters, and also dealt with offences against civic ordinances. The old Court of Husting still continued to deal with actions relating to land and mixed actions of the same character, such as dower, rents and services. But in course of time these actions, begun by royal writ, were superseded by new legal remedies and new forms of actions in other Courts. If, for instance, a man was dispossessed of his landed property, instead of "suing out" an Assize of Novel Disseisin, or Freshforce, in the Husting, with all its dilatory and cumbrous procedure, he found it far easier and cheaper to bring an action of ejectment in the Mayor's Court.

Nevertheless, old institutions die hard in the City, and it is not surprising that the Court of Husting still exists. It meets but rarely but when it does, as we have seen, all its picturesque, time-honoured procedure is observed.

The Sheriffs' Courts have proved to be a vigorous offspring, and during the seven hundred years of their existence have gone on from strength to strength, being served throughout their history by a long line of distinguished Judges, many of whom were advanced to the highest positions in the national judiciary. These Judges were officially known as Under-Sheriffs, there being an Under-Sheriff to each of the two Sheriffs, and though the actual Sheriffs' Courts were held in Guildhall, the Under-Sheriffs took their titles from the Compters, which were at one and the same time offices for the entry of pleas and prisons. Thus the senior Judge was known as Under-Sheriff of the Poultry Compter and the junior as Under-Sheriff of Bread Street Compter. The latter Compter was moved to Wood Street in 1555 and to Giltspur Street in 1791. The jurisdiction of the Courts extended to actions of debt and all other personal actions at Common Law arising within the City and its liberties, and also to actions founded on City customs and Acts of Common Council.

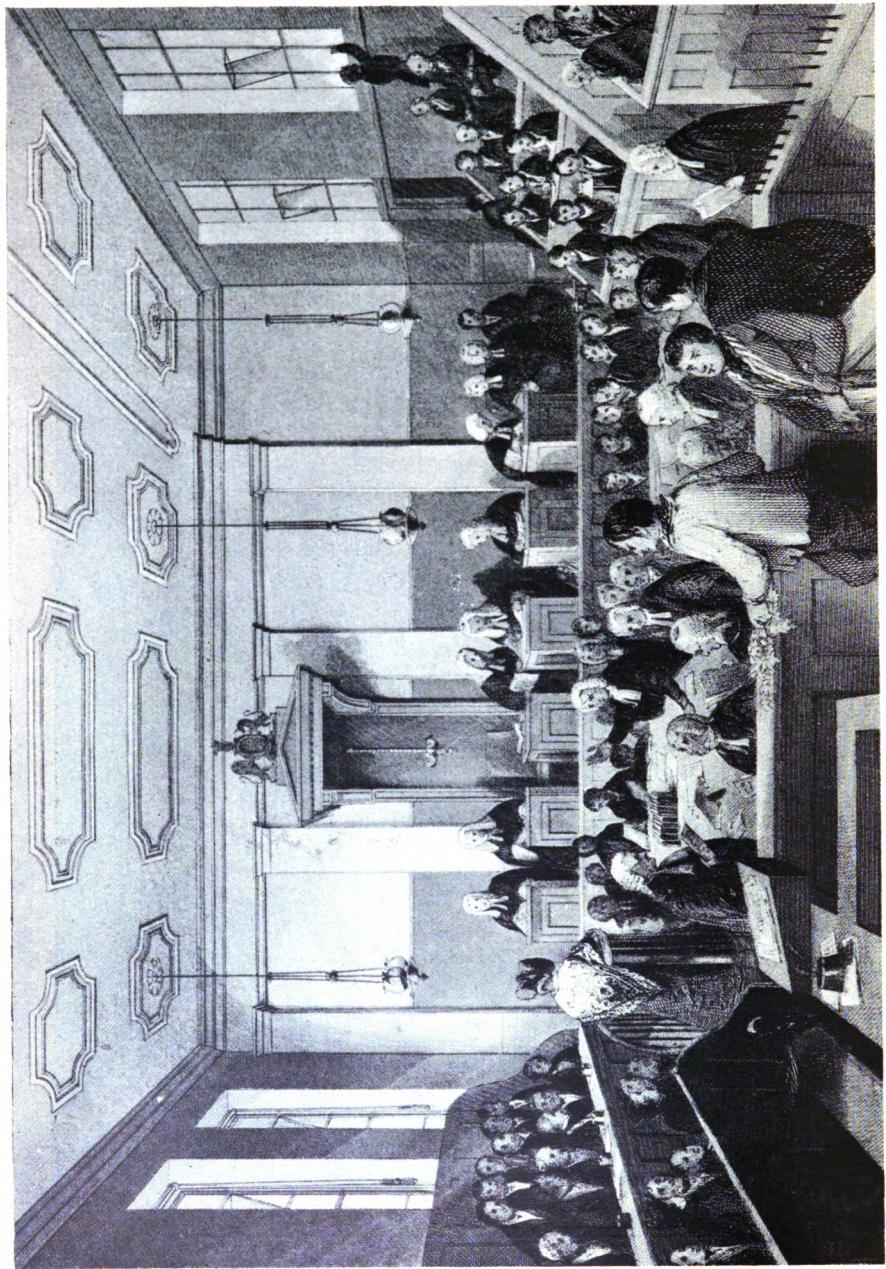
Under the statute known as the London City Small Debts Extension Act, 1852, the business of these Courts was transferred to a single Sheriffs' Court which since the County Courts Act of 1867 has been known as "the City of London Court." This Court had the same jurisdiction as an ordinary County Court, with certain added powers conferred by statutes and Orders in Council. Numerous actions from the High Court were remitted to it from time to time.

Amid all these changes it was held that neither the Sheriffs' Court of 1852 nor the City of London Court of 1867 had altogether extinguished the old Sheriffs' Courts for the two Compters. Certainly the latter never met again, but the fiction served as a means of distinguishing the senior and junior Judges, and in accordance with the Central and Criminal Court Act of 1834, these Judges became Commissioners at the Old Bailey, as being Under-Sheriffs for the Poultry and Giltspur Street Compters.



THE RECORDER OF LONDON: SIR ERNEST WILD, K.C.

[*Face page* 240]



A COURT IN THE OLD SESSIONS HOUSE, OLD BAILEY, SHOWING THE OLD BAILEY SWORD.
From an old print.

Face page 241]

Finally, on January 1, 1921, the City of London Court was brought into union with the Mayor's Court, under a new name, "The Mayor's and City of London Court."

Throughout its history the Mayor's Court was the most important Court in the City. Though its powers were still limited at the end of the thirteenth century, it rapidly gained consequence and established itself as the principal court of the City for commercial actions. The Lord Mayor and aldermen were originally the Judges, and in early days, as sound business men, grappled with difficult commercial cases, giving judgments which even now compel our respect. As years passed, however, the Recorder, whose duty it was to record their judgments, developed into the sole Judge of the Court. The remuneration attached to the office attracted many brilliant young lawyers, and from the fourteenth to the nineteenth centuries many Lord Chancellors, Chief Justices, and Barons of the Exchequer owed their advancement to their early judicial training in this Court. It was a Court in which the law merchant was observed in actions between foreign merchants and citizens. It early developed an equity jurisdiction. It formed, in fact, a High Court of Justice and a Chancery for the City, and owed its renown to its own excellence. The distinctive law and custom of the City, which was not challenged by the Common Law, was eminently suited for the settlement of personal actions in a trading community. Its procedure was swift and its costs were low. Whereas in the Middle Ages actions dragged on for years in the King's Courts at Westminster, the City litigant could expect a satisfactory remedy in a few days or at most a few weeks. It was necessary for a citizen who wished to sue at Common Law outside the City to petition the Court of Aldermen for leave to do so, but the only occasions on which such leave was sought were when a defendant had no property in the City from which satisfaction could be made to a plaintiff. In 1765 a City writer says proudly: "In short, this is the most extensive Court

of the Kingdom, for all that is cognisable in the several Courts of England, is the same in this;" and he is careful to explain one reason of its popularity: "Besides, a suit may be begun and ended here, within the space of fourteen days, for so small a charge as thirty shillings."

After many centuries of usefulness the Mayor's Court was, as above mentioned, brought into union with the City of London Court in 1921. It can hardly be called an amalgamation, for each Court preserves its individuality. On the Mayor's Court side actions over £100 in amount are taken, and where the whole cause of action arises within the City there is no limit as to amount. The equity jurisdiction is equally extensive. This Court still remains a High Court for the City, and its advantages are valued by the older type of solicitors. It is a matter for regret that many City solicitors do not realise that for actions falling within its jurisdiction no Court of the realm can give speedier and more satisfactory justice than the ancient Mayor's Court. On several occasions in recent years warm compliments have been paid in the High Courts to the Judges of the Court. On the City of London Court side, which includes both a County Court jurisdiction and wide powers in the matter of Admiralty, there has been a continuous increase of business for many years, and at the present time this Court is more frequented than any of the Metropolitan County Courts, and, it is believed, than any County Court in the country.

In addition to being Justices themselves, the aldermen of London have the power of appointing a Judge who sits in a branch of the Supreme Court, as it possesses the unique privilege of appointing the Recorder. This is subject, of course, to His Majesty's approval of the City's nominee as a person fitted to exercise judicial functions.

In other cities and boroughs the Recorder is the presiding Judge at the Court of Quarter Sessions. He is appointed by the Home Secretary, and is the sole Judge of the Sessions. The Mayor, or other Justice, of the Boroughs have no judicial

authority whatever in the Recorder's Court, except that if the Recorder is absent they can open and adjourn the Court and respite recognisances.

In the City the Recorder holds a very high and responsible position. His is the most important and one of the most ancient of the great officers of the Corporation. He is a barrister, or more generally "one of His Majesty's Counsel learned in the law," and is not only a Judge but a ceremonial officer. The City records with regard to this important post go back to the beginning of the fourteenth century.

The Recorder is the Senior Law Officer of the City and the adviser of the Court of Aldermen on legal matters. Except when one of the High Court Judges is present, he sits as principal Judge at the Central Criminal Court, and it is his duty to charge the Grand Jury.

The Recorder also sits as a Judge in the Mayor's Court. He is the mouthpiece of the Courts of Aldermen and Common Council when addresses are presented to the Sovereign, and he takes his place amongst the aldermen on all occasions of state.

It is the Recorder who presents each succeeding Lord Mayor Elect to the Lord Chancellor to receive the King's approval of his appointment, and on Lord Mayor's Day he presents the new viceroy of the City to His Majesty's Judges.

The distinguished lawyer who has held this great judicial office since 1922, Sir Ernest Wild, K.C., will be known to posterity as "the silver-tongued Recorder," as he is gifted with a melodious voice and is a master of felicitous phraseology and delightful diction.

The viceroys of the City have in this accomplished orator a splendid champion both at Westminster and at the Royal Courts of Justice, as it would be difficult adequately to praise the graceful eloquence with which Sir Ernest summarises the civic career of each succeeding Ruler of the City.

The office of Recorder exists in towns and cities all over the kingdom, but true to its unique character, the City possesses a Law Officer who is peculiar to the ancient City State.

There is only one Common Serjeant, and the origin of his ancient office is lost in the twilight of history. The first recorded Common Serjeant, Thomas Juvenal, was appointed by the Mayor, aldermen and Sheriffs in 1291, but the record shows that the office was well-established and no new creation. The Common Serjeant was regarded as representing the Mayor and Commonalty, and the consent of the latter is first mentioned in 1319. Hence it came about that until 1888 appointments to this office were made by the Court of Common Council. The Local Government Act passed in that year transferred the privilege of appointment to the Crown, but left the power of regulating the emoluments and duties of the Common Serjeant to the Corporation.

The Common Serjeant is next in seniority to the Recorder on the Commission of Assize at the Central Criminal Court, and in the Recorder's absence sits as Judge in the Mayor's Court.

The Common Serjeant, as one of the great officers of the Corporation, appears on all great civic occasions, and, as I have shown, takes a prominent part at the election of the Lord Mayor, Sheriffs, and other officers by the Livery in Common Hall.

On these occasions, as we have seen, he submits the names of candidates to the Livery, and on behalf of the Sheriffs who are the Returning Officers, reports the result of the elections to the Courts of Aldermen and Common Hall.

Old London was very rich in Courts of Law. In addition to those above described, the Report of the Municipal Commissioners enumerated no less than ten other Courts peculiar to the City of London and the Borough of South-

wark, viz., the Court of the Borough of Southwark, the Court of Requests in Southwark, Courts of Conservancy, Southwark Sessions, Court of St. Martin-le-Grand, Finsbury Court Leet and Court Baron, Court of the Manor of Duke's Place, and Court of Pie Poudre. To these should have been added the Chamberlain's Court, already busy in the year 1299, and still happily surviving and ready for action when required.

Of the others only the Court of the Borough of Southwark and the Southwark Sessions remain. Edward III, by charter of 1327, granted to the citizens of London the "villa" or township of Southwark, which at that time was a thorn in London's side, because felons and other malefactors fled there to escape the City authorities. This grant was confirmed by subsequent Sovereigns who gave further extensive powers over the borough. Finally, in 1550, Edward VI rounded off the citizens' jurisdiction by conveying to them lands lately belonging to the Duke of Suffolk and the manors formerly in the possession of the Monastery of Bermondsey and the Archbishop of Canterbury, thus constituting London as "lords of the manor."

The Quarter Sessions of Southwark are still held, but the proceedings are purely formal, and the manorial jurisdiction is preserved by occasional meetings of the Court Leet. The Recorder holds the appointment of High Steward of Southwark, while the Secondary is High Bailiff.

As might be expected from a great City State which maintains its own Judges and its own Courts, the citizens of London have from time immemorial had control of their own "Watch," as the earlier police organisations were called. Indeed, from ancient times the setting of its own Watch was regarded as one of the City's most cherished rights.

The prevention of crime and safeguarding of property

was originally effected by every inhabitant taking part in the duties of "Watch and Ward."

The Alderman in olden times was the military governor of his ward. He carefully kept a roll of its inhabitants, and no stranger could acquire an abode in the City without the consent of an alderman.

The medieval citizens were all more or less trained to arms and accustomed to martial discipline.

The Watch was, indeed, an armed Force, and order was preserved by military methods. It was "set" at regular intervals and doubled in time of disturbances.

In 1693, by order of the Common Council, no less than a thousand watchmen were constantly on duty from sunset to sunrise. The watchmen were the citizens themselves, who took regular tours of duty according to a roster. In addition to this Standing Watch there was also the Marching Watch, which was mustered with great ceremony on the Vigil of St. John, or Midsummer Eve. This Force patrolled the City and gave assistance to the Standing Watch as required. This body was discontinued on the score of expense in Tudor times, and the City Marshals, as we have seen, preserved law and order until the reign of George II, when Parliament intervened and made statutory provisions for "better regulating the Night Watch and Bedels of the City and its Liberties."

The Force established under the Georgian statute was a very small body of men employed in the daytime only. The "Nightly Watch" was a totally distinct and separate establishment of watchmen under the control of the Alderman and Common Councilmen of the Ward, the expense of which was defrayed by a Ward Rate levied by authority of the Common Council, and collected by the Common Council of the Ward.

The City Police was an efficient body nearly a hundred years ago, and when the City's idol, Peel, first established the Metropolitan Police Force he took the City Force, as

then existing, as his model. He wished, however, to include the City in the territory of his new "Peelers," but the City strongly objected and Sir Robert gave way.

In 1839 an attempt at the amalgamation of the City and Metropolitan Police was met with determined opposition, and the City exercised its ancient privilege of presenting a petition to Queen Victoria on the subject. Her Majesty received the petition sympathetically, and the upshot was that the Government of the day passed the City Police Act reaffirming the City's ancient right and privilege of making its own arrangements for "Watch and Ward."

The new Force won golden opinions from all for its efficiency, but this did not prevent the introduction of a Bill in Parliament in 1863 to deprive the City of the management of its police. This led to a remarkable meeting of citizens bankers and merchants at Guildhall, which passed a resolution, proposed by no less a person than the Governor of the Bank of England, protesting against the invasion of the City's ancient rights and privileges.

This organised opposition to the proposed Bill led to its withdrawal, so that for the last seventy years the City has remained undisturbed in the control of its own splendid police.

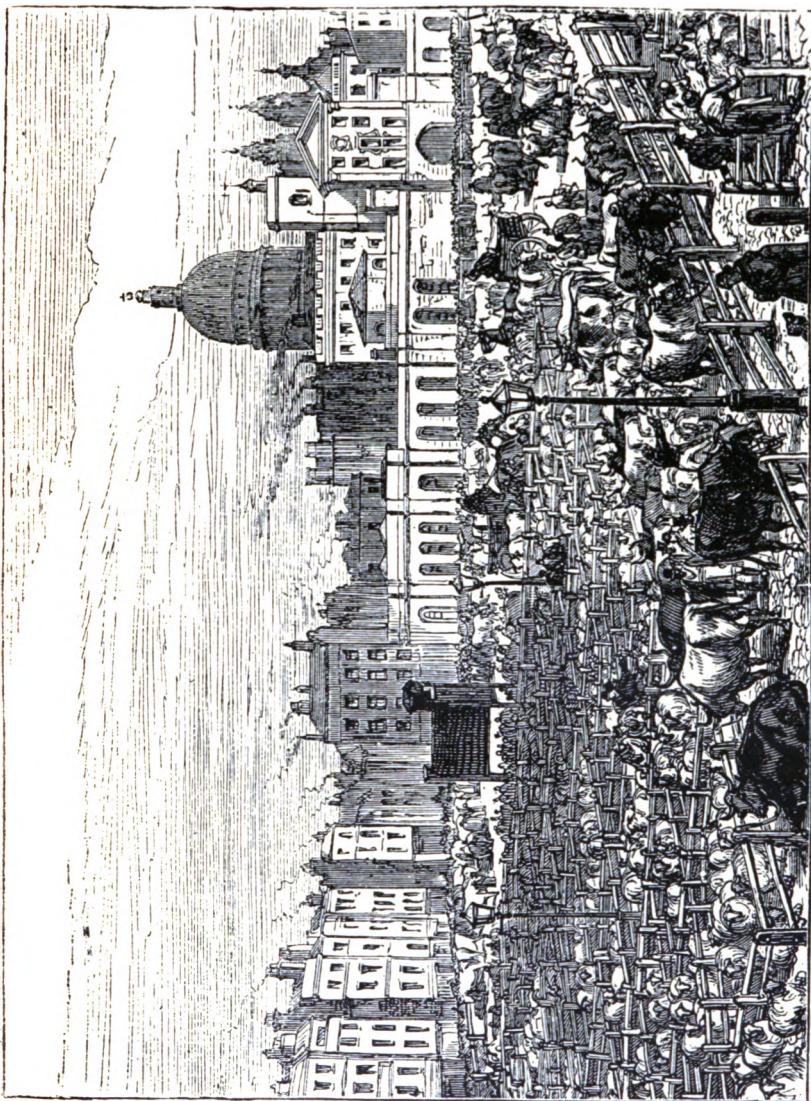
It has been well said that the City, notwithstanding the enormous value of the property within its area, is, by night, practically deserted by its day population, who are content to leave the protection of their possessions to the City Police Force—a most eloquent testimony to its entire and absolute efficiency.

In addition to its fine Force of regular police, the City has its own Corps of Special Constabulary. This body is over two thousand strong, and most ably organised and officered.

Thanks to the generosity of the Corporation and Lord Wakefield, this Force, known as the City of London Police Reserve, has very fine headquarters in Bunhill Row, which

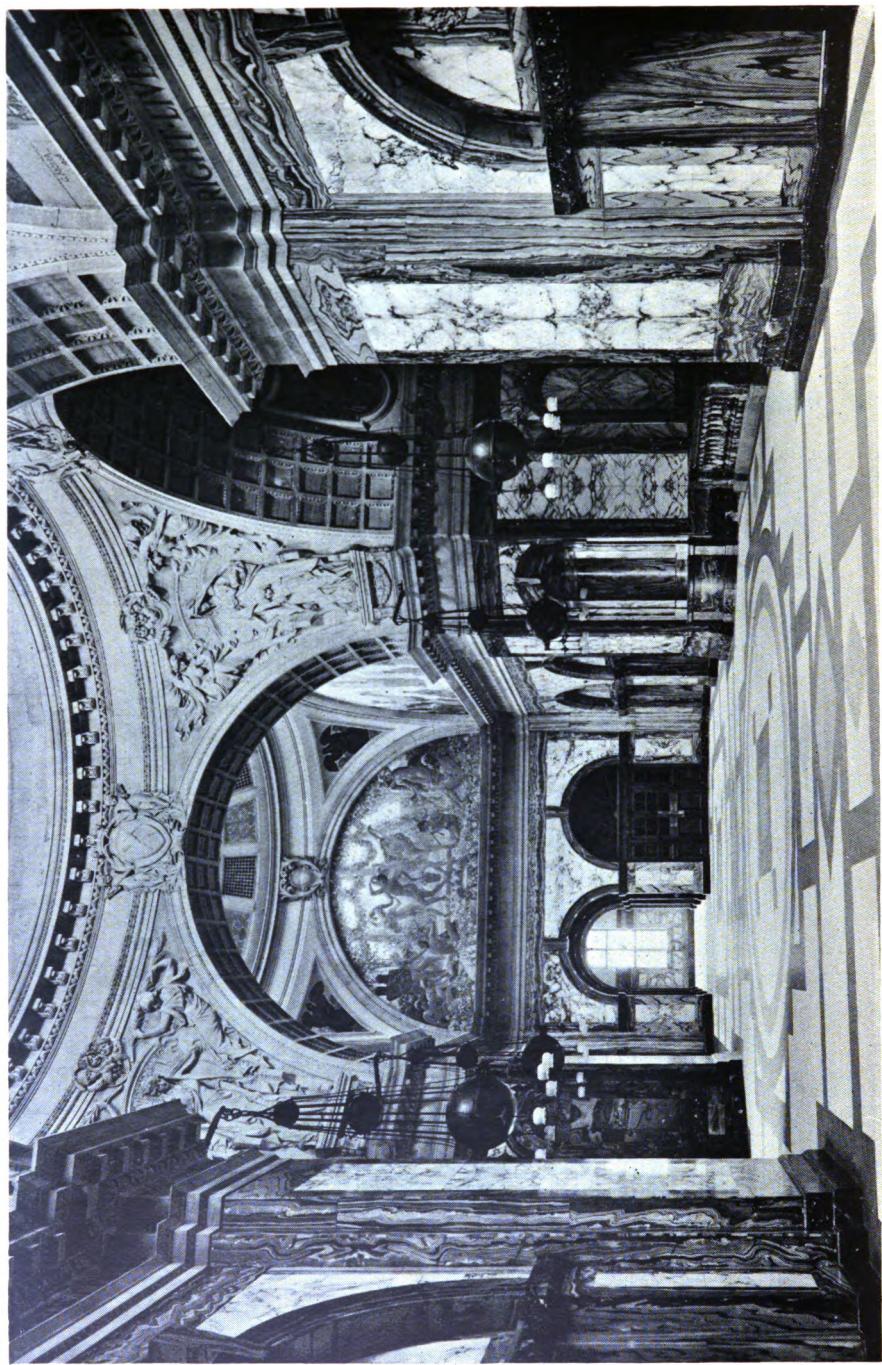
include a commodius and well-equipped Mess available for all ranks. This Mess was opened by Lord Wakefield in April, 1928, shortly before I handed over command of the Force.

This portion of the Headquarters, the finest in the possession of any body of Special Constabulary, is appropriately called "The Wakefield Mess."



OLD SMITHFIELD MARKET
From an old print.

[*Face page* 248]



CHAPTER XXI

MARKETS

"Markets and fairs were helpful alike to buyer and seller. Merchants and craftsmen could display their goods in safety, and buyers were encouraged to buy when the transaction was a public one. Buying in open market, or in *market overt*, gave the customer some confidence that the goods were genuine and that the seller had not come by them dishonestly."

Social and Industrial History of England.

I WONDER how many Londoners realise that the Corporation of London is the market authority for the whole of the Metropolis?

In olden times markets and fairs were only established by the authority of the King's Majesty, or by somebody acting with similar powers, or with the permission of the Head of the State—actual or implied.

The sovereign character of the City is evidenced by the fact that markets and fairs have been held within its jurisdiction for so many centuries; they were already ancient in Norman times.

Billingsgate was used for the sale of fish nearly a thousand years ago, and Smithfield was already an ancient market when the citizens were supporting the Barons in the struggle with King John.

As Dr. Tickner points out in the extract at the head of this chapter, buying in the open market, or, as the legal phrase goes, "market overt," gives the purchaser a distinct advantage as a warranty of title to his purchases is implied. Indeed, in many parts of the kingdom market overt is only held on certain days, and is confined to a certain spot.

Traders in London have, however, been ever anxious to encourage buyers to deal with them, and in the City and some other enfranchised towns every day, except Sunday, is a market day, and every shop is a "market overt" for such goods as the owner professes to trade in, and the purchaser gets the same rights as if he had purchased in a fair or market.

It may be due to this fact that Londoners buy their ordinary supplies in shops rather than in markets.

In France, and other countries, the citizens do most of their shopping in great central markets, such as Les Halles in Paris, or district depots, such as La Bocca at Nice, and similar institutions in other towns.

There is nothing quite comparable with these organised municipal retail markets in London.

The great markets of London are something altogether different. They are great distributing centres to which wholesale producers, or importers, send their supplies to be sold by their consignees to retail tradesmen.

Retail sections of the various markets exist, it is true, but the business done on these retail stalls is the merest fraction of the sales in the wholesale departments.

The enclosed "Cité" of the French town is represented in London and other English towns by informal markets held in the streets.

These curious survivals have existed from time immemorial, and have resisted all efforts to displace them. They hardly encroach on the City's orderly streets, but flourish on certain fringes of the Square Mile, notably Leather Lane, Farringdon Street and Middlesex Street, the Petticoat Lane of evil memory referred to in a previous chapter.

In early times, as we have seen, the members of various trades congregated in various parts of the City, and these localities are marked by the names of various streets, such as Bread Street for the bakers, Milk Street for the retailers of milk, and Poultry for the poulters.

This tendency for traders to keep together in groups persists to this day, and I have indicated above that the various wards of the City are still more or less exclusively occupied by the representatives of various branches of commerce or industry.

This feature has extended to greater London, where we have the medical Mecca round Harley Street, a legal quarter in Holborn, old booksellers in Charing Cross Road, and the dealers in precious stones in Hatton Garden.

The appropriation of various quarters of the City by different trades had probably some connection with local markets, and the names of some City churches remind us of the close connection between the religious and business lives of our forefathers.

The churches were the great common meeting-places of the medieval citizens, and they took the opportunity of doing their buying and selling when they attended the services insisted upon as necessary by the early Church.

Fairs and markets were, indeed, actually held in the church-yards, and the priests saw no objection to turning an honest penny by collecting tolls from their parishioners for utilising God's acre for trading purposes.

It is well to recall such circumstances when we are asked to believe in the irreverences of these so-called degenerate days.

The market rights of our Plantagenet forefathers were recognised by Edward III, who covenanted by charter with the City of London not to grant permission to anyone else to set up a market within a radius of seven miles from the City. The reason for this limitation of seven miles was because a market set up within that distance of an original market was esteemed a "nuisance." This charter has been declared by Judges to have the force of an Act of Parliament.

These franchises were confirmed by charters of Richard II and later Kings and from the tenour of these documents it

would appear that the market rights of the City originated from ancient custom, and that the Angevin Sovereigns merely confirmed existing privileges.

Even the Stuarts were reluctant to interfere with the City's rights as *the Market Authority of London*, which have been over and over again confirmed by successive Sovereigns, by Parliament, and by legal proceedings in the Supreme Courts of Justice.

BILLINGSGATE

As far back as the year 1400 Henry IV vested in the citizens of London the right of collecting toll and custom in Billingsgate, but here again the Founder of the House of Lancaster was only re-affirming ancient rights, as a schedule of tolls was drawn up four hundred years before.

This Charter was confirmed by the Merry Monarch, but Parliament took a hand in the game in 1699, and made Billingsgate a statutory market "for all sorts of fish whatsoever." Various Acts were passed in the reigns of Queen Anne and the Georges, which were consolidated by a Victorian statute in 1846, finally establishing Billingsgate as a free and open market on every day of the week, except Sunday, for the wholesale and retail sale, in any quantity, of all sorts of fish.

The Great Company of Fishmongers has always retained a close connection with the Market, and to this day under statutory powers sends to Billingsgate inspectors known as "fishmeters" who have powers to seize and destroy unwholesome or immature fish. The Company has also statutory powers which give it considerable control over not only freshwater fisheries but lobster and crab-catching on the coasts. Oyster and mussel beds are supervised, and the Fishmongers' Company has power to prevent the sale of shellfish from tainted or polluted sources to the public.

The Market has been many times enlarged, and the Corporation during the last fifty years has spent about £350,000 on this great centre for the distribution of one of the most important of British foods.

From time to time the question of the removal of the Market to another site has been mooted, and in 1908 the Corporation held a public enquiry "as to the propriety of applying to Parliament to dis-market Billingsgate Market and to utilise the Shadwell, or other site, for the great Public Fish Market of London." The whole fishing industry, together with the Railway Companies, opposed such a suggestion, being of opinion that the site of Billingsgate was the most central and convenient for the reception and distribution of rail and water-borne fish for the Metropolis.

LEADENHALL

The site now occupied by Leadenhall Market has a curious history. Tradition says that a Roman Church once stood on this spot. From the end of the twelfth century Leadenhall was a manor held in succession by the Neville family and the famous Sir John Hawkwood, whose executors sold it to the Corporation in 1411. Even at this early date it had long been a market for poultry, cheese and butter. Under the City Fathers a granary was established, and an extensive trade grew up in wool, cloth, lead, nails and leather, but the sale of provisions remained the most important feature of the market.

The poultry market at Leadenhall was at one time the largest in the world, but of recent years the tendency has been for the Market to lose its wholesale character and to take on, in a restricted form, the character of the French markets to which I have referred.

SMITHFIELD

A portion of the Square Mile of which the Corporation is most justly proud is Smithfield, a locality with an interesting history.

In early times the "Smooth Field" constituted an open space which was used for sporting purposes. In the days of chivalry tournaments were held here, and the name of the street leading to Smithfield—Giltspur Street—commemorates the riding of the knights to win their golden spurs.

In the fourteenth century Smithfield was the scene of the conflict between the King and the rebel peasants, when their leader, Wat Tyler, was slain by the fighting fishmonger, Sir William Walworth. Later on this open space was utilised for the public burning of heretics, and zealous Catholics and Protestants in turn perished at the stake under the shadow of a religious house and a great hospital.

The establishment of a fair or market at Smithfield owes its origin to the presence of a religious house, the Priory of St. Bartholomew, and was started, no doubt, to provide the good monks with a regular source of revenue.

The Fair of St. Bartholomew became the most famous of all the English fairs, and in medieval times the City Fathers seem to have controlled the portion allotted to livestock and the monks the part devoted to the sale of cloth and other merchandise.

Apart from the fair which struggled on till 1854, the Corporation reorganised the market for live cattle in 1614, when Monday was established as the regular market day.

A market for poultry and grain came into being in Newgate Street in the fourteenth century, and soon became a market for dead meat. After the fire it was extended southwards from the Street, where it continued till 1869.

Old Smithfield Market became a place of bad reputation and the resort of evildoers. In *Oliver Twist* Dickens gives us a vivid picture of Smithfield and its neighbourhood in the early days of the last century. It was a gruesome spot, and it was none too soon that in 1855 the Corporation erected its new Cattle Market in Caledonian Road, Islington, and closed the Live Stock Market at Smithfield.

The Corporation then proceeded to obtain statutory authority to embark on the erection, on the site of the old Market, of the magnificent buildings which furnish the metropolis with the finest meat market in the world. The Act of Parliament actually extended the boundaries of the City, as it authorised the Corporation to purchase land just outside its boundaries and declared the land so purchased to be a portion of the ward of Farringdon Without.

The original Market was opened in 1868, but has been frequently extended under statutory authority.

The Central Markets are composed of three distinct sections, one for meat, one for poultry and provisions, and the third for general supplies, including fish, fruit, vegetables and flowers. The display of beef and mutton, especially at Christmas time, is one of the sights of Europe. The actual delivery of meat has reached upwards of 4,500 tons in a day, and there are fifteen miles of meat-hanging rails in the Market, capable of hanging 60,000 sides of beef at one time—approximately 9,000 tons.

The total capital expended by the City on the London Central Markets has been nearly £2,000,000.

THE METROPOLITAN CATTLE MARKETS

The market for live cattle, held so long at Smithfield, was removed to Islington in 1855.

The Corporation acquired a site of seventy-five acres under Act of Parliament, and has erected, and still maintains, one of the finest markets for live stock in the King's dominions.

The maintenance of this great market is not the least of the services which the City renders to the great metropolis which bears the name of London.

Like so many measures bearing on the public health, the market is not, however, a paying concern.

When the enquirer asks what is done with the large revenues known as the City's cash, one may answer not the least of the charges upon this private income of the Corporation is the maintenance of this great market.

In conjunction with the sale of livestock a curious feature, of growing usefulness to many of London's people, is the general, or pedlars', market known as the Caledonian Market held in the square on Tuesdays and Fridays, where all classes of buyers are provided for. The popularity of these markets is indicated by the fact that the number of stand-holders on Tuesdays averages 1,400 and on Fridays 2,200, and the attendance of the public 40,000 and 100,000 respectively.

THE FOREIGN CATTLE MARKET

In order to prevent the introduction of disease into this country by the importation of foreign animals, the Government handed over to the Corporation of London authority to make full provision for the reception and slaughter of foreign cattle. In order to discharge this great trust the Corporation acquired the site of an old Admiralty dockyard at Deptford, and erected a Market covering thirty acres to deal with the landing, sale and slaughter of all cattle arriving in this country from abroad. This market was taken over by the War Office in 1914.

for the purposes of the War, and eventually purchased by the Government.

SPITALFIELDS

During the dark days which marked the closing years of the Stuart régime the City's privileges were declared forfeit. Meanwhile in 1682, in defiance of its ancient market rights, Charles II had granted the right to hold a market in the vicinity of Spital Square to one John Balch and his heirs. Like other Stuart impositions, this encroachment on the City's age-long privileges survived the fall of personal monarchy and persisted up till the present century. The Corporation regained its rights by purchasing the freehold in 1901 and the leaseholders' interest in 1920.

Since acquiring the Market the Corporation has carried out extensive improvements and concentrated the business hitherto conducted in surrounding streets into thoroughly up-to-date buildings which give in the aggregate a floor space available for trade purposes of upwards of ten and a half acres.

The provision of this splendid market for vegetables and fruit at an outlay of £2,000,000, shows how vigilant the Corporation is in providing merchants with trading facilities in this great and growing industry. In short, the Markets managed by the City have been rebuilt or reconstructed within the last sixty or seventy years, and during this period a capital sum of about £4,000,000 has been expended by the Corporation, not for the benefit of the City or even of the Metropolis alone, but in the interests of the Kingdom and, indeed, of the Empire.

Far from sticking to its ancient privileges and statutory rights, the policy of the Corporation of London "has been

to recognise and assist in every way the establishment of Retail Markets all over the Metropolis."

As the population has increased and the suburbs of the City have grown there has been a tendency for private individuals to endeavour to set up markets, and in each case the Corporation has judged each proposal on its merits.

In many cases the City has waived its legal claims, and has always shown itself ready to march with the times, and prepared to provide market accommodation in accordance with the growth of the population and the ever increasing requirements of the public.

The City Markets are administered by three great Corporation Committees: the Central Markets Committee which looks after the Central Markets and Spitalfields, the Cattle Markets Committee which looks after Islington, and the Billingsgate and Leadenhall Markets Committee which controls the markets whose name it bears.

Each market is under the charge of a Superintendent, who carefully looks after the interests of not only the Corporation as the Market Authority, but of the tenants and their customers. The administrative work of the Markets is so extensive that a special branch of the Town Clerk's office is devoted to this activity alone.

If the reader remembers nothing of what has been claimed for the City in the previous chapters when he eats his or her dinner this evening, I would ask him, or her, to remember that the fact that his local butcher, fishmonger or fruiterer has regular supplies for his consumption is due to the unceasing activity of the Market Committees of the Corporation.

This great work is carried on without any rate being levied on the residents of London, except in the case of Spitalfields market, and alone justifies the high esteem in which the work of the City is held to-day by King and Parliament.

CHAPTER XXII

SAVIOUR OF OPEN SPACES

With spots of sunning openings, and with nooks
To lie and read in, sloping into brooks.

LEIGH HUNT.

THE City of London to-day may appear to the casual visitor a great mass of bricks and mortar, but, as we have seen, it was once a garden city and the home of great nobles whose pleasures were the glory of medieval England.

Most of the gardens which surrounded various civic buildings until comparatively recent years have disappeared, but I doubt if any other area of its acreage contains so many green nooks providing quiet retreats for the tired City worker.

Within its own boundaries the Corporation maintains three miniature gardens for the benefit of the citizens.

The best known of these little parks is St. Paul's Churchyard, which is a very popular resort. Up till 1878 the cathedral enclosure was surrounded by high railings, but in that year the Corporation entered into an agreement with the Dean and Chapter under which the railings were lowered and the churchyard converted into an ornamental garden which has been very tastefully laid out.

Many trees and shrubs have been planted, and round the pillar which marks the site of Paul's Cross, from which preachers of all shades of religious thought of old time thundered, typists eat their sandwiches and nursemaids bring their charges.

It is a curious fact that the south side of St. Paul's is probably the windiest place in the whole City. Here

the branches, in spite of bracing and pruning, assume a tortured and "hydra-headed" appearance which is in direct contrast to the long straight limbs of the great trees growing on the northern and more sheltered side.

Less known and with fewer historical associations but no less beautiful and equally well tended, is the pretty oval garden in the centre of Finsbury Circus. This reposeful spot comes as a surprise to the visitor who turns aside from Moorgate and London Wall. It has a curious history, as in the sixteenth century it was little more than a rubbish heap known as the Inner Moor or "Four Quarters." In the seventeenth century it was raised three feet with broken bricks and laid out for the first time as a garden. The ground level, however, appears to have sunk, as in 1730 the enclosure was again raised with broken bricks and rubbish another three or four feet. Stability has long been reached, and the garden now provides a real City beauty spot with a special retreat for women anxious to get away from their sterner fellow-workers, and, better still, a pretty playground for children.

Even sporting facilities have not been overlooked, as there is an excellent bowling green which, like the Temple Gardens, shows that beautiful turf can still be kept going in the heart of the great Metropolis.

Here the trees are really shady, and numerous seats invite the wayfarer to sit down and admire the well-kept flower beds.

The other wards may envy Cripplegate, as in addition to this garden the Corporation a few years ago came to the rescue when Bridgewater Square was threatened by the builders, so that this glimpse of green has been preserved as a little "lung" for a congested area.

Even a scrap of the wide expanse of old Smithfield between St. Bartholomew's Hospital and the great Central Meat Markets, has been preserved as a recreation ground.

It comprises only half an acre, but its plane trees and flower beds form a welcome relief to the great buildings which surround this little oasis on every side. Close by, the churchyard of St. Bartholomew the Great has recently been converted into a pleasant little garden.

The Valuation Committee of the Corporation, which is entrusted with the care of the City Churchyards, is always ready to consider sympathetically any effort on behalf of the church authorities to make God's acres, no longer needed for their original purpose, useful for the bodies and minds of the parishioners of to-day.

A whole chapter might be written on these City churchyards, of which there are no less than sixty-six, nearly all containing one or more trees. They crop up in the most unexpected places, and give great pleasure to the casual visitor, but far more to the workers in the neighbouring offices, shops and warehouses.

The little triangular garden of St. Giles—another Cripplegate oasis—must be visited, as near by is the best bit of the old Roman wall which can be inspected above ground. There are many others belonging to churches which still exist or, like that of St. Antholin near St. Mary Aldermanry and St. Pancras, Soper Lane, mark the sites of long-forgotten sacred fanes.

In addition to these once consecrated spots there still survive some remnants of the gardens which formerly surrounded the Halls of the Livery Companies.

Right up to the Victorian days the Draper's Company preserved a large garden which was reminiscent of the spacious days when they had a mulberry orchard extending down to London Wall. During his childhood Lord Macaulay lived with his parents in Birch Lane, and used to be taken by his nurse to play in the Drapers' garden. In later years the great historian and essayist loved to saunter from his rooms in the Albany to the spot which had endeared itself in his memory. Alas! great offices now cover the grounds

which Macaulay loved, but there is still a little garden beautifully kept on the north side of the Hall.

The Girdlers also preserve a pretty little pleasance in which still flourish a fig tree and a fine mulberry tree.

But these quiet little City gardens are mere domestic affairs, and pale into insignificance when compared with the magnificent "lungs" which the City has provided at all points of the compass for the whole of the population of the great Metropolis.

London has spread in all directions and swallowed up the surrounding villages with their green fields and country lanes.

Her citizens have been shut in with workshops and factories which cut them off from enjoying the fresh air and the sunshine, and the whole public health was threatened by the ever-expanding growth of drab streets which condemned the children to life on grey pavements and prevented their elders from enjoying the games their ancestors used to play on the village greens.

It was not till nearly the last quarter of the last century that London woke up to the danger.

The West End was well provided for, as it had Hyde Park, Kensington Gardens, St. James' Park, and the numerous squares which the wise Victorians had left as "lungs" for the better-class areas.

But the East End was much less fortunate, and its crowded streets were almost barren of open spaces.

It was at this juncture that the Corporation of London, true to its great traditions, came forward as the Saviour of Open Spaces.

Public opinion had not been awakened to the danger which threatened the public health of the community, but the Corporation had always been specially interested in the subject of preventive medicine and, as it has done so often in other ways, led the nation in a great crusade.

The environs of London were formerly rich in forest land, mostly the property of the Crown, but subject to various

privileges enjoyed by persons living on the surrounding land. To the north once stood the vast Forest of Waltham, of which what is known as Epping Forest is a mere fractional remnant.

With the immense extension of the Metropolis the country-side was invaded everywhere by bricks and mortar, and Epping Forest was no exception to the rule.

The Lords of the Manor thought only of their own pockets, and regardless of the forest laws permitted enclosures and actually sold large tracts of land for building purposes.

The felling of timber was proceeding rapidly, and the beauty of the Forest was threatened when the powerful aid of the Corporation was invoked to save further spoliation.

Fortunately the Corporation were owners of land on the Forest borders which gave them common rights, and in 1871 the City instituted proceedings in the Chancery Court on behalf of themselves and all other owners and occupiers in Epping Forest against the Lords of the Manors for the purpose of staying any further illegal enclosures and to obtain a declaration that all owners and occupiers within the regard of the Forest were entitled to rights of common over the whole of the waste lands. Steps were also taken by the Corporation to revive the Meetings of the Ancient Court of Verderers, who were the Judicial Officers of the Forest Courts, and had power to deal with unlawful enclosures in the Forest.

In consequence of the action of the Corporation, a Writ was addressed by the Lord Chancellor to the Sheriff of Essex, directing the election of three Verderers, and the Court (which had held no sitting since 1848) was thus re-constituted, and sat on September 16th, 1871, at Woodford. The then City Solicitor attended, and presented to the Court a long list of unlawful enclosures in the Forest.

In November, 1874, the Master of the Rolls delivered judgment in the long pending Chancery suit, in favour of the Corporation, declaring and establishing the old rights

of the commoners, and a large extent of land found to be unlawfully enclosed was thrown open.

So far so good, but if the Courts were helpful Parliament was not, and the Corporation failed to obtain authority to compel the Lords of the Manor to sell it their interests in the Forest.

What could not be obtained by statute was secured by private negotiation.

In this way the Corporation purchased the waste lands of the Manor of Chingford (covering an area of 275 acres), the open wastes of the Manor of Loughton (consisting of 992 acres), those of Waltham Holy Cross (768 acres), those of Higham Hills (with an area of 123 acres), of Sewardstone (674 acres), of Cann Hall (73 acres), and Chingford Earls (with 142 acres of waste lands), and the manorial rights in Queen Elizabeth's Lodge.

These negotiations, combined with strenuous opposition to schemes of the Epping Forest Commissioners to retain unlawful enclosures, occupied several years, and it was not till 1878 that the Corporation was able to secure statutory authority for its splendid and disinterested efforts.

The upshot however of eleven years of incessant work, in and out of Parliament, was that of the 3,000 acres of illegal enclosures existing at the time of their first agreement with a Lord of a Manor in 1876, only 500 acres (in round figures) remained enclosed at the end of the Arbitration, 2,500 acres having been restored to the Forest, in addition to the 3,000 acres of then existing open Forest land.

In the year 1879 Queen Victoria appointed the Duke of Connaught Ranger of the Forest, and on May 6th, 1882, Her Majesty visited the Forest in person, and formally declared it open to her people for ever.

The Forest is now a magnificent and diversified stretch of common and forest extending from Wanstead Flats in the south to Epping in the north, a distance of nearly twelve miles, and embracing an area of nearly 6,000 acres.



[Photo : Humphrey and Vera Jocl.

THE GREAT PLANE TREE IN THE CHURCHYARD OF ST. PETER, CHEAP

The corner of Wood Street, Cheapside.

[Face page 264]



[Photo : Humphrey and Vera Joel.

AUTUMN SUNLIGHT IN WARDROBE COURT

A building on this site housed the Royal Wardrobe from the days of Edward III
to the Great Fire.

Face page 265]

Epping Forest is by far the largest Open Space placed by Parliament under the control of a Public Representative body, and provides a playground for the teeming millions occupying the very poorest parts of London's industrial areas.

This splendid estate, with its countless trees, herds of deer, flights of herons, and myriads of birds, cost the Corporation more than a quarter of a million pounds, and is managed for the nation by a small Statutory Committee, of which twelve members are appointed by the Court of Common Council, and four gentlemen, styled Verderers, elected by the Commoners of the Forest.

The proceedings of this Committee are, by the Statute, conducted according to the same rules and practice as Committees of the Court of Common Council.

The Common Council Members are appointed for four years, one-quarter of the Members going out of office every year. The Verderers are elected for seven years, but casual vacancies are filled up by the Conservators from among persons qualified to be elected Verderers.

The Act of Parliament promoted by the Corporation at the same time as the Epping Forest Act gave it authority to acquire "any common, commonable land or open space" outside the Metropolis proper but within twenty-five miles of the City boundary.

The City was not slow to act on this authority, and appropriately enough the first open space it acquired under its new powers was Burnham Beeches, so admired by one of the City's own poets, Thomas Gray.

The "Beeches" constitute one of the beauty spots of beautiful Bucks, and comprise an area of nearly four hundred acres of glorious woodland scenery containing splendid specimens of Britain's forest giants. Trees of gigantic girth and grandeur are pointed out which were standing in the days of Queen Elizabeth, and one has only to visit the spot on any public holiday to understand how

the preservation of this lovely "lung" is appreciated by the public. The "Beeches" are particularly popular for school treats, and the happy laughter of the children would reward those devoted sons of the City who acquired the spot more than fifty years ago, not that it could be in any way useful to them or to the City, but really and truly for the benefit of posterity.

That eminent citizen, Lord Burnham, was so sensible of the benefits conferred on the public by this open space that in 1921 he added no less than sixty-five acres to the "Beeches" by the generous gift of an adjoining tract of land known as "Fleet Wood."

Quite recently another large tract of Epping Forest came into the market and was generously purchased and added to the extensive area already owned by the Corporation. The upkeep of this splendid playground for the East End costs the Corporation about £2,000 a year. This expenditure is met from the City's Cash, and costs neither rate-payer nor user a penny.

Encouraged by the acquisition of the "Beeches" in 1883, the Corporation acquired what are known as Coulsdon Commons. These comprise Farthing Downs, Riddlesdown and Coulsdon Common, with a total area of nearly 350 acres.

During the War, part of Kenley Common, to the extent of about fifty acres, was taken by the Air Ministry for aviation purposes, and an aerodrome and sheds were formed on private land adjoining the Common. An arrangement has been come to with the Air Ministry under which it will take such legislative steps as may be necessary to alienate the portion of Kenley Common now in use, transferring to the Corporation an area rather larger in extent and immediately adjoining, the Air Ministry agreeing to re-transfer the ownership of the land to be alienated in the event of its being, at any future time, no longer required for use by the Royal Air Force.

Two years later than the acquisition of Coulsdon Common the Ecclesiastical Commissioners offered the Corporation Highgate Wood and Queen's Park, Kilburn, on the condition that it obtained statutory authority for throwing them open to the public and made provision for their future maintenance as public parks.

It so happened that the Corporation was at that particular time considering the best means of utilizing the residuary bequest of William Ward of Brixton, the founder of the City of London School for Girls, and as the object seemed in consonance with the wishes of the testator, application was made to the Courts for authority to apply the Ward Bequest in maintaining these two Open Spaces.

The Court of Chancery approved the scheme of the Corporation in principle, but limited the use of the Ward Fund to the Kilburn Park, as Highgate was not in a poor neighbourhood. Nothing daunted, the Corporation took over the Queen's Park and Highgate Wood as well.

The Ward Fund does not at present defray the expenses of even the Kilburn property, so that the Corporation has to find an annual deficit of about £1,000 a year.

Highgate Wood is provided for the residents of this popular and almost aristocratic suburb entirely at the expense of the Sovereign City.

Other instances of the interest of the Corporation in common land near well-to-do districts are the acquisition of West Wickham Common and a portion of Nork Park Estate at Walton-on-the-Hill.

West Wickham Common is a charming little spot which but for the far-reaching beneficence of the Corporation might ultimately have fallen into the hands of enterprising inartistic builders.

The Nork Park Estate was acquired as it had valuable common rights attached to it. Its purchase placed the Corporation in a position to preserve and protect the rights

of commoners should any attempt be made to enroach on Burgh Heath or other common land in the parish of Walton.

The Corporation, in addition to the foregoing, has also, from time to time, contributed out of City's Cash various sums of money for the preservation of Open Spaces under the control of other bodies, and has also made grants towards the protection of the rights of the public over rivers and broads.

Quite different from the vast forest glades of Epping Forest and the Surrey and Kentish Commons, but no less creditable, is the achievement of the Corporation with reference to West Ham Park. This fine open space in the heart of a crowded district—which has been somewhat in the limelight of recent years—was purchased at the request of the inhabitants of West Ham and Stratford from a Mr. John Gurney as far back as the year 1874. Four thousand pounds were subscribed locally, and the balance of the purchase price, amounting to £10,000, was provided by the Court of Common Council from the Grain Duty Fund.

As the Corporation's Act of 1878 had not been passed at the time the Corporation had to obtain a licence from the Crown to hold the Park as an Open Space.

The Park is administered and controlled by a Committee of fifteen managers. Eight are appointed by the Court of Common Council, four by Mr. Gurney's heirs, and three by the Parish of West Ham.

The body which appoints little more than half the managers has, however, to bear all the expenses!

The Corporation expended a large sum of money in beautifying the Park after they acquired it, and now not only pay the wages of keepers, gardeners, and other expenses of maintenance, but provide a band during the summer months which alone costs £150 a year.

Their nett expenditure on this valuable "lung" is about £3,500 a year, but the money is not grudged by the City,

as the residents of the district have very warm corners in their hearts for the kindly Corporation.

These Open Spaces, other than Epping Forest and West Ham Park, are managed by the Coal, Corn and Finance Committee appointed by the Court of Common Council.

This important Committee has been already referred to; but it is interesting to record that, responsible as its other duties are, the care of the life-giving lungs which the Corporation has preserved for Greater London is regarded as such a sacred trust that "The Open Spaces" is one of the toasts which are most honoured by the Committee on all festive occasions. Indeed these beautiful woods, parks and commons which the Corporation has preserved for the people of England in general and London in particular, are the brightest jewels in the diadem of the Sovereign City which certainly does not lack other gems of great radiance.

Perhaps there is no other title of which the Corporation is more proud than that of "Saviour of Open Spaces."

CHAPTER XXIII

COMMERCE AND COFFEE

Coffee, which makes the politician wise,
And see through all things with his half-shut eyes.
POPE.

GRESHAM's great work, the Royal Exchange, transferred the financial supremacy of the world from the banks of the Scheldt to the banks of the Thames.

London instead of Antwerp became the commercial capital of Elizabethan Europe.

Gresham planned to call his great building a Bourse, as there was already a King's Exchange in what is now called Old Change, Cheapside.

"It was here," says Tite, "that one of those ancient officers, known as the King's Exchanger, was placed, whose duty it was to attend to the supply of the mints with bullion, to distribute the new coinage, and to regulate the exchange of foreign coin. Of these officers there were anciently three—two in London, at the Tower and Old Exchange, and one in the city of Canterbury. Subsequently another was appointed, with an establishment in Lombard Street, the ancient rendezvous of the merchants; and it appears not improbable that Queen Elizabeth's intention was to have removed this functionary to what was pre-eminently designated by her 'The Royal Exchange,' and hence the reason for the change of the name of this edifice by Elizabeth."

The buying and selling of stocks went on at the Exchange, but "The Eye of London," as Stow affectionately calls the first Royal Exchange, rapidly became a vast bazaar,

where fashionable ladies went to shop and sometimes to meet their lovers.

Steele, in describing the adventures of a day, relates that, in the course of his rambles, he went to divert himself on 'Change. "It was not the least of my satisfaction in my survey," says he, "to go upstairs and pass the shops of agreeable females; to observe so many pretty hands busy in the folding of ribbons, and the utmost eagerness of agreeable faces in the sale of patches, pins and wires, on each side of the counters, was an amusement which I could longer have indulged myself, had not the dear creatures called to me, to ask what I wanted."

In the evening, however, the essayist found 'Change a much less agreeable resort, as he tells us that "the mumpers, the halt, the blind, and the lame; your vendors of trash, apples, plums; your ragamuffins, rake-shames, and wenches, have jostled the greater number of honourable merchants, substantial tradesmen, and knowing Masters of Ships, out of that place. So that, what with the din of squallings, oaths, and cries of beggars, men of the greatest consequence in our City absent themselves from the Royal Exchange."

The outside shops of the second Exchange were mostly occupied by lottery and newspaper offices, and by watchmakers' shops; but a good deal of space was utilized by notaries and stockbrokers.

The shops in the galleries were superseded by the Royal Exchange Assurance Offices, Lloyd's Coffee-house, the Merchant Seamen's Offices, the Gresham Lecture Room, and the Lord Mayor's Court Office. "The latter," says Timbs, "was a row of offices, divided by glazed partitions, the name of each attorney being inscribed in large capitals upon a projecting board. The vaults were let to bankers, and to the East India Company for the stowage of pepper."

The second Royal Exchange was a remarkable institution indeed and Addison tells us in the *Spectator* that there was no place in the town he so much loved to visit. He admits

the jostling and even acknowledges that he was sometimes lost in a crowd of Jews, but he seems to have liked it, for he says, "I am a Dane, Swede, or Frenchman at different times; or rather, fancy myself like the old philosopher, who, upon being asked what countryman he was, replied that he was a citizen of the world."

He continues, "I have often fancied one of our old kings standing in person where he is represented in effigy, and looking down upon the wealthy concourse of people with which the place is every day filled. In this case, how would he be surprised to hear all the languages of Europe spoken in this little spot of his former dominions, and to see so many private men, who in his time would have been the vassals of some powerful baron, negotiating, like princes, for greater sums of money than were formerly to be met with in the royal treasury!"

In 1761 an amusing but alarming accident occurred at the Royal Exchange, as a cow from Smithfield Market occasioned great commotion by charging at the south gate. In the panic which ensued many persons were knocked down and severely bruised, while others lost their wigs, hats, shoes, etc. After passing through Sweeting's Alley the cow was secured by a carman in Gracechurch Street. This incident led the Common Council to take action for regulating the driving of horned cattle through the crowded streets of the City.

The introduction of the coffee berry produced something of a gastronomic revolution in the days of the Merry Monarch. The modern office had not evolved. Hitherto the taverns were the only places where business could be transacted other than the noisy and overthronged Exchange, but the taverns catered more for the traveller and the roysterer than the sober-minded merchant.

The coffee-houses provided a new kind of resort, and in the City encouraged men of affairs to meet in rooms specially set apart for them, and to transact their business over cups



[Photo : Humphrey Vera and Joel.]

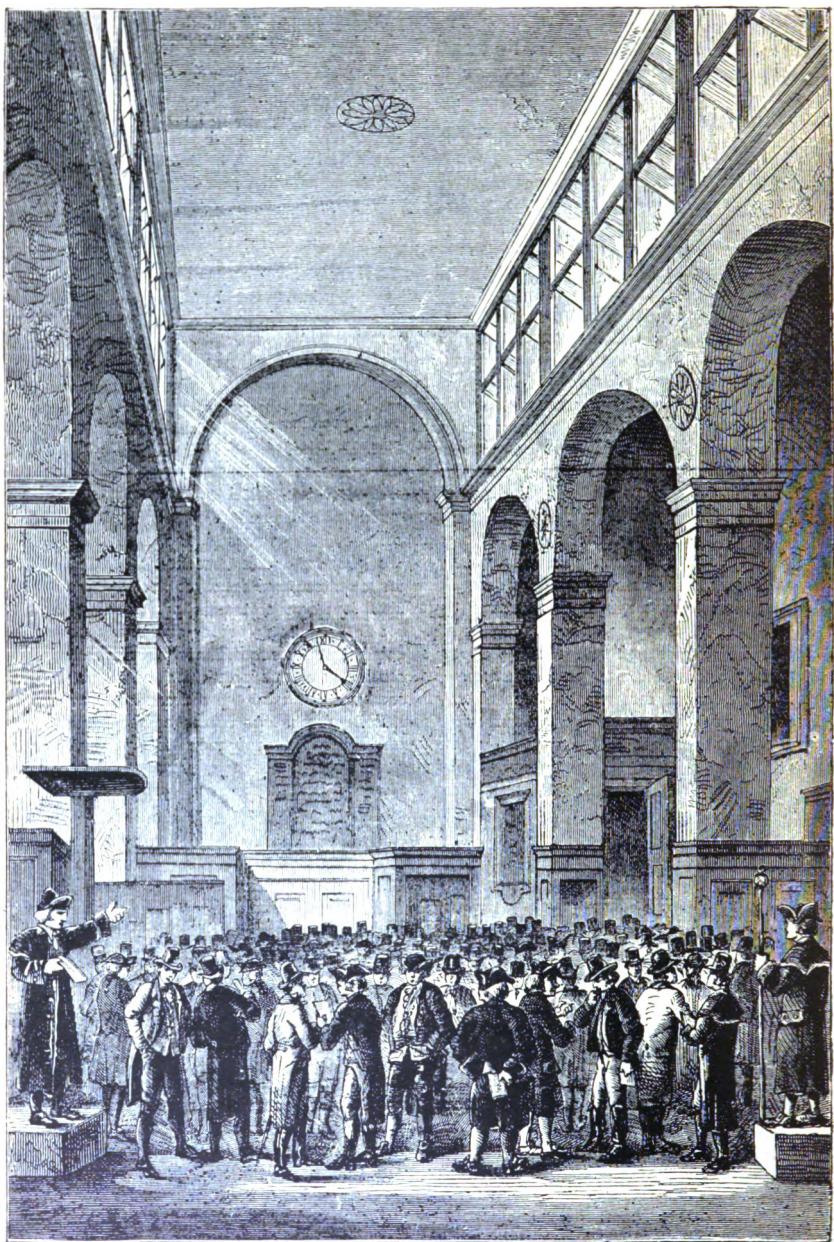
(1) THE LUTINE BELL AT LLOYD'S AND TOP PART OF CALLER'S ROSTRUM



[Photo : Humphrey and Vera Joel.]

(2) LLOYD'S: THE UNDERWRITING ROOM

[Face page 272]



ON 'CHANGE
From an old print.

Face page 273.]

of coffee—if they so desired—instead of over mugs of beer or glasses of wine.

The vintners fought the introduction of the new teetotal beverage for all they were worth; but the Arabian drink waxed in popularity, and soon a satirist was forced to write:

“ And now, alas ! the drink has credit got,
And he’s no gentleman that drinks it not.”

Gradually certain establishments became the special resorts of merchants engaged in various kinds of trade. For instance, at the Baltic there was a subscription room for merchants and brokers engaged in the Russian trade; the Chapter of Paternoster Row was the place where book-sellers foregathered, and the Jamaica the house for the West Indian shippers.

Meanwhile the Exchange grew noisier and noisier, and finally the money dealers left it for Change Alley off Cornhill, which became the home of the first operations in stocks and shares, and the scene of the feverish speculation which ended in the South Sea Bubble.

Gay mentions it in his verses to his friend Snow, the goldsmith and banker, near Temple Bar, who had been caught by the Bubble:—

“ Why did ‘Change Alley waste thy precious hours
Among the fools who gaped for holden show’rs?
No wonder if we found some poets there,
Who live on fancy, and can feed on air;
No wonder they were caught by South Sea schemes
Who ne’er enjoyed a guinea but in dreams.”

“ Jonathan’s,” the leading coffee house of Change Alley, gradually secured a monopoly of the patronage of the stock jobbers. It is described in the *Tatler* as “the general mart for stock-jobbers”; and Addison, in the *Spectator*, No. 1, says, “I sometimes pass for a Jew in the assembly of stockjobbers at ‘Jonathan’s.’”

T

Defoe writing in 1722, mentions Garraway's as frequented about noon by people of quality who had business in the City, and the more considerable and wealthy citizens. Dean Swift, in his ballad on the South Sea Bubble, calls Change Alley "a narrow sound though deep as hell," and describes the wreckers watching for the shipwrecked dead on "Garraway's cliffs."

All sorts of dodges were resorted to by the earlier dealers to obtain early information with regard to important events which would influence the "funds." Sir Henry Furnese, we are told, arranged for regular information from various parts of the Continent, and his early information with regard to the progress of King William's army in Flanders enabled him to carry out several successful coups.

There was nothing reprehensible about this, but at last he stooped to fabricating news and to adopting all sorts of discreditable means of manipulating the market.

The mental attitude of even the Sovereign himself towards these earlier speculators was to say the least of it indulgent, as we are told that the austere William of Orange gave Furnese a diamond ring for early information as to the movements of his enemies, and another financier is said to have paid the Duke of Marlborough no less than £6,000 a year for permission to accompany his army, as his position at the Front gave him early intelligence which could be profitably utilized on 'Change.

Merchants engaged in various trades became financiers in the speculative days of Queen Anne, and some of them made such large fortunes that they were admitted to the friendship of members of the Royal Family. For instance, a watchmaker named Quare had for his guests at the wedding of his daughter no less personages than the Princess of Wales and Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough.

The stock-jobbers moved from Jonathan's establishment to a house of their own at the corner of Threadneedle Street soon after the middle of the eighteenth century. This

establishment was styled "New Jonathan's" up till July 1773, when "the brokers and others" decided to dub their headquarters "The Stock Exchange," and to write its new title over the door. "The brokers then," says a contemporary scribe, "collected sixpence each and christened the House in punch."

The days of the Napoleonic wars held periods of feverish activity on the old Stock Exchange, and the noise appears to have beggared description.

Jobbers overflowed into the Rotunda of the Bank of England, and the beadles were provided with rattles to drown their shouting and give fair purchasers and sellers an opportunity to transact their business.

It was not till 1801 that the old Stock Exchange with its sixpenny admission was abolished, and the present edifice in Capel Court established by a company consisting of Mr. William Hammond and other leading financiers of the period.

The "House" was entirely rebuilt in the 'fifties, and the important addition known as the New House added in 1885, while considerable extensions have since been made.

The "House" has, during the last century, lived down the public odium which was brought upon it by earlier dealers in public and private securities who were neither brokers nor jobbers, as we now understand them, but bankers, money-lenders and speculators in all sorts of financial risks.

The brokers of Change Alley not only dealt in stocks and shares but undertook war insurances and all sorts of life assurances. Their activities in the latter direction had great consequences, as London became the cradle of life assurance, and from the speculative investments of the precursors of the modern members of the Stock Exchange has evolved one of the most important features of our modern life. To the practice which was initiated on Change Alley has succeeded a scientific system of investment of which London is the fountain head. Indeed *The Times* points

out that to a comparatively small but excellent City Society belongs the distinction of being the parent of modern life assurance.

Hardly less important than life assurance in a City where disastrous conflagrations have been so common has been the development of provision against the risks of fire.

It is not always recognised to-day that our modern fire brigades owe their inception to the Companies formed in the eighteenth century to insure against fire.

Obviously an important part of the work of these organizations was to fight the flames when necessary. Accordingly each Company organized its own staff of firemen and had its own fire engines.

We often vaguely wonder at the plaques on old houses bearing the names of Insurance companies. These plates were affixed to houses insured by the Companies to enable their fire brigades to distinguish them, and it is interesting to note that some of the older marks have their policy numbers stamped on them.

A survival of the old Company fire brigades is the London Salvage Corps, whose officers and men wear black helmets and white facings to distinguish them from the brass helmets and red facings of the London Fire Brigade maintained by the County Council. This fine body of men is maintained entirely by the Insurance Companies. Its aim is to arrive at the scene of a fire with the fire brigade and to co-operate with it, the chief concern of the corps being the removal of the goods from the burning building and the protection of machinery and stocks from fire. This work is carried out by the use of tarpaulin sheets and other means, and the officers and men expose themselves to fully as much risk as those of the fire brigade and undertake almost as important work. For many years the wagons of the Salvage Corps were distinguished by the familiar white or grey horses always used, but now the horse-drawn wagons have been superseded by motor vehicles. The headquarters of the London

Salvage Corps are at Watling Street in the City, but there are branch stations in different parts of the Metropolis, and the Chief Officer is soon on the scene of any important fire in any quarter of London.

Naturally in a great maritime country like England the risks of vessels conveying cargoes from and to Foreign ports must have engaged the attention of financiers from early times. It has been suggested that some sort of marine insurance was undertaken by the Italian bankers in Lombard Street, and Gresham writes about insuring on the Bourse at Antwerp armour which he sent to London from Hamburg in 1560.

Earlier insurances seem to have been effected at the Royal Exchange, but to Edward Lloyd, the keeper of a little coffee-house in Tower Street, is due the credit of bringing together, in the latter part of the seventeenth century, the merchants interested in overseas trade and, what we would now call, the underwriters.

Here again the coffee berry seems to have been an important factor in the development of a great commercial fraternity. Round the tables bearing their steaming cups of coffee congregated the merchants and seafaring men, and the news with regard to shipping so essential to successful overseas trade circulated first by word of mouth and later on by means of a news sheet.

Founded in 1734, and existing to-day as *Lloyd's List and Shipping Gazette*, this journal has, with the single exception of the official *London Gazette*, the distinction of being the oldest, still living, newspaper in England.

From Tower Street Lloyd's Coffee House was removed to Lombard Street, at the corner of Abchurch Lane. Then, in 1770, those frequenters of the meeting place whose special business lay in marine insurance formed a Society and moved to Pope's Head Alley.

Four years later the Society secured premises in the Royal Exchange, and there "Lloyd's" remained until

1928 when it was removed to palatial premises in Leadenhall Street.

The Corporation of Lloyd's provides its members with a magnificent service of news obtained from its own signal stations and agents in all parts of the civilised globe. Reports of mishaps to shipping are announced on yellow slips, and fires and accidents on orange sheets, which are posted in the "Chamber of Horrors."

The famous Lutine Bell has been transferred to the New Lloyd's and is still sounded by a red-robed "caller" prior to any important announcement.

Originally concentrating on marine risks the members of Lloyd's have applied the insurance principle to all sorts of contingencies, and there are now very few of the hazards of modern life for which a Lloyd's policy cannot be obtained.

Insurance against the arrival of twins was, for instance, a well established form of business for which specially printed proposal forms were in use, but modern medical science has eliminated this risk, as a radiologist can now distinguish with certainty the existence of twins.

There are, however, plenty of other contingencies left, and of recent years the premium income of the members of Lloyd's from miscellaneous risks has actually exceeded that of marine underwriting.

Edward Lloyd, if he revisits this sublunary abode, must be very proud of the great Corporation which he founded in his little coffee-house.

On a site now occupied by the Post Office once stood a coffee-house known as the Baltic, whose proprietor, as we have seen, placed a room at the disposal of the merchants concerned with the importation of produce from countries surrounding the Baltic Sea. These commodities consisted chiefly of tallow, skins and hemp.

The repeal of the Corn Laws led to a great development of the importation of foreign grain into this country, and Russian and Greek corn merchants flocked to London.

They resorted to the Baltic Coffee House and, together with a number of shipowners engaged in the carriage of grain, gradually changed the character of the establishment to that of a Corn Exchange.

The membership of the Fraternity outgrew the capacity of the coffee-house, and the Corporation moved to South Sea House in Threadneedle Street, which stood on a site now occupied by the British Linen Bank.

In its new home the importance of the Exchange developed still further, and everyone connected with floating cargoes and ships found it necessary to become a member of the Baltic. In consequence South Sea House became too small to accommodate a Society with such growing popularity, and even the imposition of rules restricting admission failed to keep the roll of its members within the original limits.

Yet another fraternity with somewhat similar aims had developed round cups of coffee in another establishment known as the Old Jerusalem Coffee House. Here the shipowners, merchants and brokers engaged in the Eastern trade had foregathered and formed an institution known as the London Shipping Exchange.

These traders, like the stock-brokers, insurance agents and corn merchants, from modest beginnings had expanded into a great organization and established a home of their own in Billiter Street in the early 'nineties. Here this important group of merchants soon outgrew the amenities of their new establishment, and they were on the look out for new premises at the same time as the members of the Baltic. Negotiations were entered into between the committees of the two institutions, with the happy result that fusion of interests was effected and a handsome new Exchange erected in St. Mary Axe.

The new Baltic is worthy of the Soverign City, as its membership represents all the principal dealers in grain and includes all the leading shipowners and brokers.

It is perhaps more cosmopolitan than any of the other great Exchanges, as its roll of members includes representatives of most of the countries of the world.

The development of these four groups of business men, brought together by the genius of the coffee-house owners in the days of the Merry Monarch, into great national institutions which command respect in every quarter of the globe is not the least romantic chapter in the fascinating story of the development of British trade.

I do not think it has any parallel in other countries, and is typical of the way in which the talent of London merchants has evolved from modest origins the magnificent machinery which controls the finance, the insurance, and the shipping of not only our own Empire but of our great international trade.

The part played by the Arabian berry in this great drama has been a striking one, and justifies the claim that coffee has had an important relation to the growth and expansion of commerce in the Sovereign City.

CHAPTER XXIV

THE CRADLE OF CHAUCER

The medieval word for a Poet was a Maker, which indeed is the original meaning of a Poet. . . . There was never a man who was more of a Maker than Chaucer. He made a national language; he came very near to making a nation. At least without him it would probably never have been either so fine a language or so great a nation. Shakespeare and Milton were the greatest sons of their country; but Chaucer was the Father of his Country. And, apart from that, he made something that has altered all Europe more than the Newspaper: the Novel. He was a novelist when there were no novels.

G. K. CHESTERTON.

THAT charming writer on London, E. V. Lucas, says: "The literary associations of the City . . . are endless. . . . In Threadneedle Street . . . Lamb's old South Sea House stood; in Leadenhall Street . . . (is) the modern representative of his East India House. It was in a house in Birch Lane that the infant Macaulay, opening the door to his father's friend, Hannah More, asked her to step in and wait while he fetched her a glass of 'old spirits' such as they drank in 'Robinson Crusoe'."

London has been the Mecca of every writer in the English language. In saying this I am not forgetting the great Brotherhood of the Pen who write on the other side of the Atlantic. The child of the New World who seeks expression for his message in the English tongue reverences the great masters of English literature as much as we do, does not hesitate to acclaim the debt he owes to them, and longs to see for himself, or herself, the City where they flourished or more often starved. To merely chronicle the men of

letters who have lived and worked in the City would require a book rather than a chapter. I would therefore confine myself as far as possible to those who were *born* in the narrow confines of the Square Mile. Even with this restriction we have a goodly fellowship. No less than nine poets and two great prose writers were in every sense of the word Sons of the City.

It has been well said that the best humour in our language is Cockney humour, and no one will deny that the wits of the Great War were not those traditional mirth-makers, the Irish, but the lads from famous London Town.

Life in the great Metropolis seems to quicken the sense of humour, and most of the good war stories which have filled the columns of some famous daily papers have been told of Cockney citizen soldiers. As in war so in peace, the best yarns which circulate in the smoking rooms of the West End clubs originate in Throgmorton Street or one of the other City exchanges, and is not the home of the greatest comic journal in the world in Bouverie Street? But the Sovereign City is something more and something even greater than the birthplace of so much English laughter.

Chaucer, as I have mentioned in describing the Ward of Vintry, was the son of a wine merchant who kept an inn in Thames Street.

He was the first of our City songsters, but he has been followed by a long list of names which shine in the Valhalla of English song.

None of these great men were Londoners by the mere accident of birth. They were genuine Cockneys, born within the sound of Bow Bells, and the sons of ordinary tradesmen who, we may reasonably assume, were members of one or other of the Livery Companies which have played such a part in the making of London.

Curiously enough, if my assumption is correct, none of the poets and only one of the prose writers born free of the City availed himself of his rights of patrimony and became

a member of a London Guild. This interesting exception was Defoe, who was, of course, exceptional in other ways.

Chaucer never became a member of the Vintners Company, and never engaged in his father's trade. The close association between the merchants of the City and the Royal Court is shown by the fact that at the age of sixteen young Chaucer became a page to Elizabeth, the wife of Lionel, Duke of Clarence. Chaucer was a bit of a lad in his early days, and is said to have beaten a saucy Franciscan friar in Fleet Street, and to have been fined two shillings for the offence by the Honourable Society of the Inner Temple; "so Speight had heard from one who had seen the entry in the records of the Inner Temple." He is reputed to have been entered as a student in the Middle Temple, but never practised the law, as after much travel abroad he settled down as Comptroller of the customs and subsidy of wools, skins and leather for the Port of London.

Chaucer is a son of whom London may well be proud, as he was not only an entirely original poet but a story-teller of the first order. His characters in the *Canterbury Tales* are typically English, shrewd, good-tempered, and full of humour.

Chaucer was not only the first of our English poets but the first of our Cockney humourists. He anticipated Dickens by four and a half centuries. After Chaucer came a dark period in the history of English literature, as Edmund Spenser was not born in East Smithfield till a century and a half after his beloved master, Chaucer, had passed away. We know little of his early youth except that he went from Merchant Taylors' School to Cambridge as a poor sizar and earned a scanty living by "fagging" for wealthy students. After a short sojourn in the north of England he returned to London and made the acquaintance of Leicester, then at the height of royal favour. Through Leicester's influence he went to Ireland with Lord Grey, and for his services in a campaign of savage brutality against the "mere Irish"

was rewarded by the grant of a noble estate at Kilcolman which had been taken from its rightful owner.

Here he was visited by Raleigh, who was so impressed with his writings that he hurried him back to England.

The first three books of the *Faery Queen* were published and acclaimed as the greatest works in the English language.

Queen Elizabeth granted Spenser a pension, but it was rarely paid, and the poet had to return to his Munster Castle. On his return to Ireland he was appointed Sheriff of Cork, a queer office for a poet, but a new Irish rebellion deprived him of his ill-gotten estates and sent him back to London, penniless and heartbroken. He died in an inn at Westminster, according to Ben Jonson "for want of bread." The poor London lad who had such a romantic career was buried beside Chaucer in Westminster, all the men of letters of his time thronging to his funeral and, according to Camden, "casting their elegies and the pens that had written them into his tomb."

Besides Spenser one would like to claim more of the Elizabethan literary giants for the City, but alas! Ben Jonson was born at Westminster, and most of the brilliant band he gathered round him in the Apollo Club were Londoners by adoption and not by birth.

Shakespeare, of course, was a familiar figure in Elizabethan London, but he was a provincial by birth and a provincial he remained. Notwithstanding many fine lines about London I doubt if the Bard of Avon ever acquired a real affection for life in the great town which was the scene of his dramatic triumphs, or he would never have been content to leave London and the theatre behind him and die in obscurity as a simple squireen in a country village.

The connection of William Shakespeare with Southwark is, however, one of the few unquestionable facts in his biography. He owned a house called "The Boar's Head" in the High Street, and his brother, Edmond Shakespeare, is buried in St. Saviour's.

His theatre was the "Gloabe upon Bankside," and both sides of London Bridge are still places of pilgrimage for men of all nations who love to visit spots for ever hallowed by the footsteps of a poet who wrote not only for England but the world at large.

It is good to recall that Sir Thomas More, the too-conscientious successor to Cardinal Wolsey, and the author of *Utopia*, was a City man. He was born in Milk Street and educated at the famous free school of St. Anthony's, which in Elizabethan days was a rival of St. Paul's. Sir Thomas lived in Crosby Place, and spent four years in the Charter house, and was a reader in Furnival's Inn, where the great Prudential Offices now stand.

William Blackstone, who first clarified the chaos of English law, was born in Cheapside, and William Camden was the son of a painter in the Old Bailey. He was the founder of antiquarian research, and his great work *Britannia* has been called "the common sun whereat our modern writers have all kindled their little torches." When only a second master at Westminster School Camden became known to the wisest and most learned men of London, Ben Jonson honouring him as a father, and Burleigh, Bacon, and Lord Broke regarding him as a friend. Camden followed the fashion of having a country house, and Napoleon III died in Camden's mansion at Chislehurst.

Milton has already been referred to more than once. The City has no greater son. His house stood in the Barbican till 1864 when it was removed to make way for the Metropolitan Railway.

The Church of All Hallows, Bread Street, in which Milton was christened, was not pulled down till 1876, and a fine bust of the poet was placed on the site in 1878.

Milton was the creator of the Puritan School of Poetry. While Shakespeare and Ben Jonson were roystering in the Mermaid Tavern, John Milton was bringing to English literature the tremendous moral earnestness of the Puritan

movement which survives to this day in our Free Churches.

Robert Herrick was a very different type of Londoner. He was born in Cheapside, the son of a London goldsmith.

Apprenticed to the trade he soon abandoned craftsmanship for St. John's College, Cambridge, and after fourteen years at the University by some freak of fate became Vicar of a small country village, Dean Prior, near Totnes in Devon. Here he lived happily enough, but pretended to sigh for the joys of London and the Apollo Club where he had made the acquaintance of Ben Jonson. His bachelor establishment consisted of an old housekeeper, a cat, a spaniel, a goose, a tame lamb, one hen—for which he thanked God in poetry because she laid an egg every day—and a pet pig that drank beer with Herrick out of a tankard.

He was a real old pagan, and used to love gadding about to wakes and wassailings, so that it is little wonder that he fell into disfavour with the Puritans.

Abraham Cowley was the very antithesis of Herrick, although he too threw in his lot with the Cavalier cause. He was the son of a grocer who lived at the corner of Fleet Street and Chancery Lane, but, unlike Herrick, was not apprenticed to his father's trade.

He went to Westminster and Trinity College, Cambridge, but was ejected from his University by the parliamentarians and transferred his affections to St. John's College, Oxford. He went into exile with the Queen and remained abroad for many years, and when he returned never seems to have liked the City of his birth, as he wrote:

“God the first garden made, and the
first City, Cain.”

Cowley found in London but “the stings and murmurings” of a great hive; but, as *The Times* remarks, even he, when he wrote his poem “On the Queen's Repairing Somerset

House," was moved to more than complimentary verse as he looked from that house—which was then right above the water's edge—up and down "the glorious bow" of the river, down to old St. Paul's and London Bridge and

" the house of that wondrous Street
Which rides o'er the broad river like a Fleet."

while "the gentle Thames strengthened by the sea," and caught between the narrow arches of the bridge, "roared and foamed" through them.

Cowley was a remarkable personality, as at the age of forty, in order to divert political suspicion, he took up the study of medicine, passed his final examination at Oxford, but does not seem to have ever practised as a physician. When he died, at the early age of forty-eight, King Charles said he had not left a better man behind him, and he was laid to rest in Westminster Abbey beside the ashes of Chaucer and Spenser.

Alexander Pope was another tradesman's son, born above his father's linen-draper's shop in Plough Court, off Lombard Street. Very old residents say they remember the house. It was still standing in 1872.

One hardly realizes to-day the esteem in which Pope was held by his contemporaries. He is now best remembered as a man who gave in his writings a remarkably clear and adequate description of the spirit of his age.

It has been well said there is hardly an ideal, a belief, a doubt, a fashion, a whim of Queen Anne's time, that is not neatly expressed in his poetry.

Pope tried to live the gay literary life of the London of his day, but he was unfitted for it mentally and physically, and spent most of his time at Twickenham—at that time an almost remote riverside village.

No wonder he speaks of London as a "dear damned distracting town," but he has given us some vivid pictures

of the City in the golden age of Glorious Anna, notably an account of a Lord Mayor's water pageant.

Thomas Gray was, like Milton, the son of a scrivener. He was born in Cornhill, and his father was evidently a rich man—it was the golden age of scriveners—as Gray went to Eton and Peterhouse, Cambridge.

He was a weakling and the only one of twelve children who survived infancy, but he was by no means spoilt by his father, who was a bit of a tyrant.

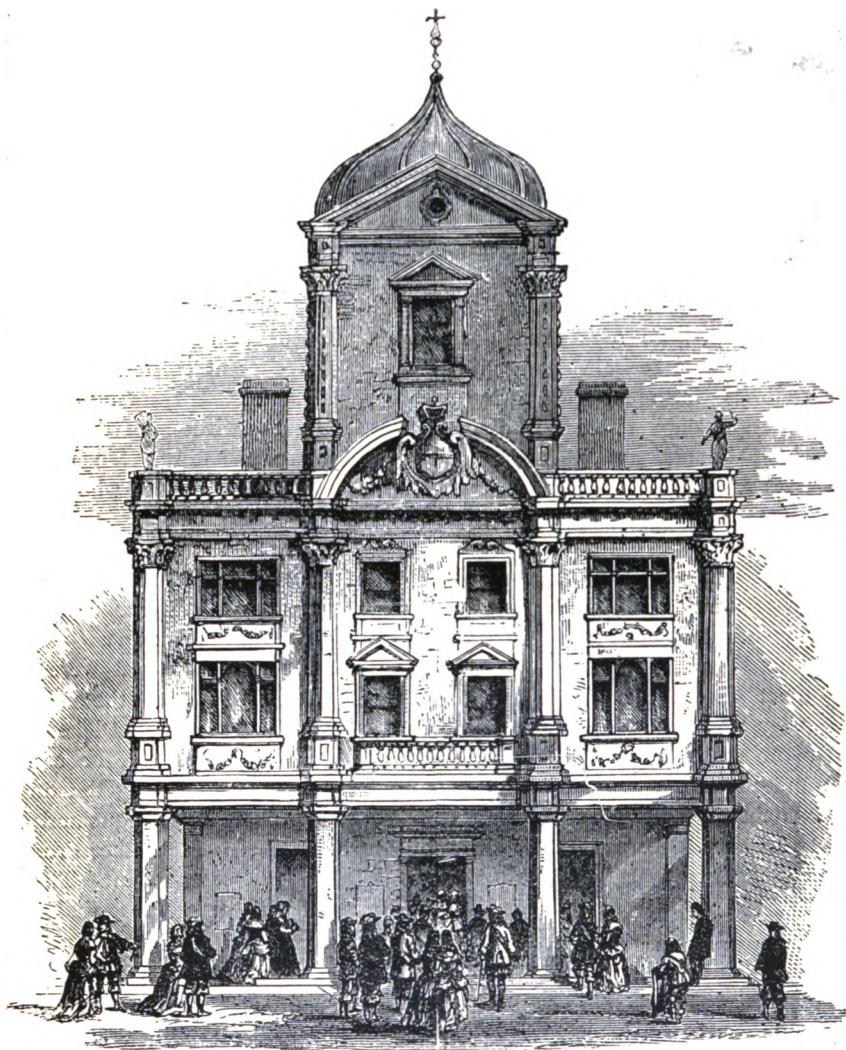
His *Elegy* is one of the best known poems in the English language, and one regrets that he did not turn his genius to descriptions of the wonderful City of his birth, as he might have been born anywhere as far as his references to London are concerned.

Most of the writers I have referred to were the sons of prosperous City tradesmen, but John Keats was much less fortunate. He was the son of an ostler and stable-keeper, and was born in the stable of The Swan and Hoop Inn which stood in Moorfields.

The atmosphere of the stable of a City tavern at the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the last century was hardly the place to expect the delicate flower of poetic genius to bloom and expand.

His friends did the best they could for the poor ostler's son, and apprenticed him to a surgeon at Edmonton, but Keats had not the physical strength to combine physic and poetry, like Sir Samuel Garth, so he abandoned the scalpel for the pen at the early age of twenty-two.

Curiously enough, the gifted surgeon's mate, whose life was embittered by the derision of the Scottish critics who laughed at the products of the "Cockney school of poetry," has left us no verses about Cockaigne, unless we except the City in "Midmost Ind," of which he wrote in *The Cap and Bells*. Very different from the giants of which I have been writing was Tom Hood, the son of a City bookseller, who wisely employed his facile pen and pencil on City scenes.



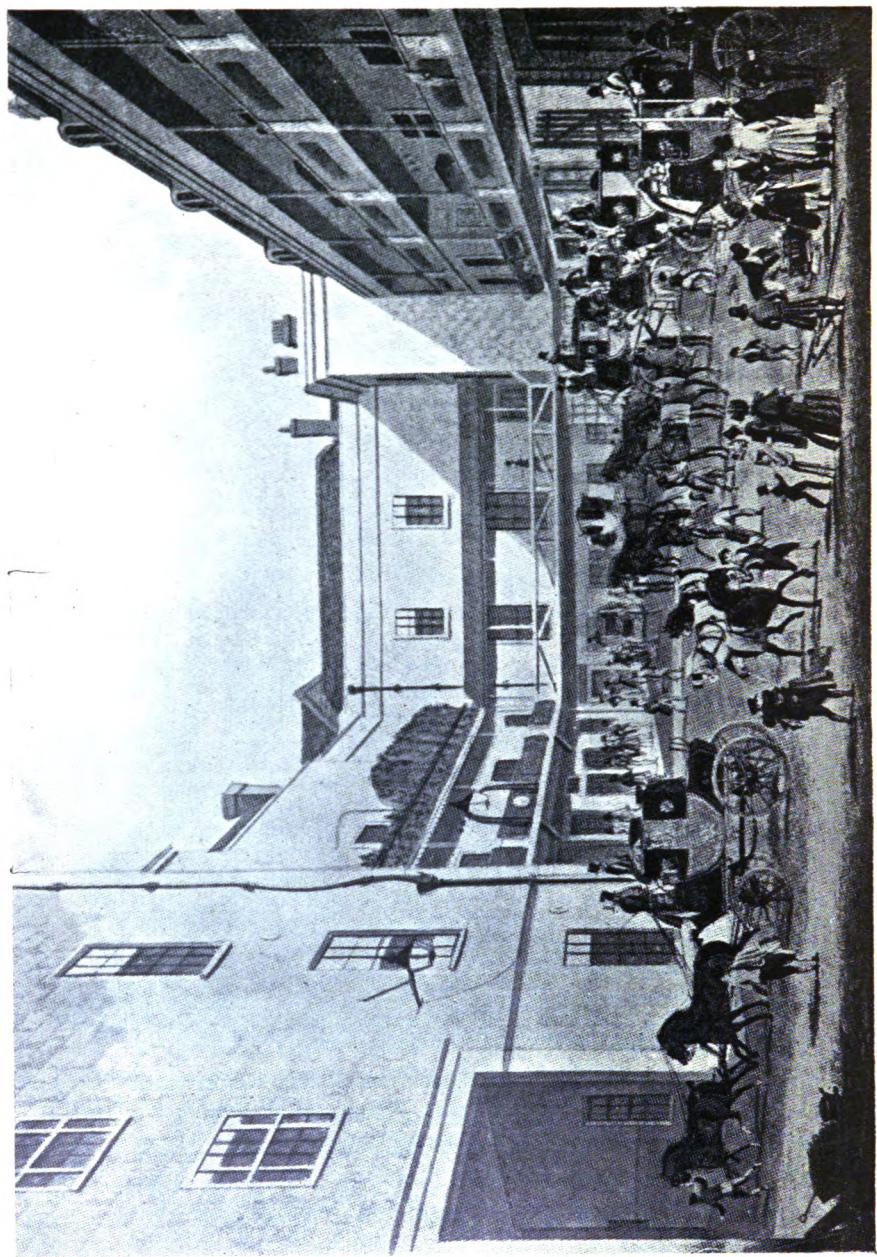
THE DORSET GARDENS THEATRE, SALISBURY COURT, WHITEFRIARS

Where Lady Davenant Presided over the Company.

From an old print.

[Face page 288]

[Reproduced from the "Modern History of the City of London," by Charles Welch, by kind permission of Mr. H. C. Welch.
THE YARD OF AN OLD COACHING INN, LAD LANE



Face page 289]

Hood's humour may not appeal to the modern reader, as he was unduly addicted to the use of the pun. Here is an example of his style in the delightfully absurd ode written on the cross of St. Paul's:

"The man that pays his pence and goes
 Up to thy lofty cross, St. Paul's,
 Looks over London's naked nose,
 Women and men;
 The world is all beneath his ken;
 He sits above the ball,
 He seems on Mount Olympus' top,
 Among the gods, by Jupiter! and lets drop
 His eyes from the empyreal clouds
 On mortal crowds.

What is this world with London in its lap?
 Mogg's map.
 The Thames that ebbs and flows in its broad channel?
 A *tidy* kennel!
 The bridges stretching from its banks?
 Stone planks.
 Oh, me! Hence could I read an admonition
 To mad Ambition!
 But that he would not listen to my call,
 Though I should stand upon the cross, and *ball*!

Hood had, however, a serious vein, and two at least of his poems have a permanent place in literature. *The Bridge of Sighs* must appeal to all Londoners, and the *Song of the Shirt* shows that the punning humourist was at heart a social reformer. The poem was published anonymously in *Punch* in 1843, and attracted as much attention to the lot of the worker as *Oliver Twist* to the abuses of the old workhouse system.

Charles Lamb fittingly follows my list of poets, as so many of his delightful essays are poems in prose. I have written so much about him in my *Story of the Temple*

that I must refrain from further reference to that gentle son of the City.

Defoe is a like case, as I have referred to him both in connection with Temple Bar and Butchers' Hall.

This list of great names might be amplified, but enough has been said to show that the Sovereign City has been the cradle of Chaucer and the birthplace of English poetry, but it has not been the sons of city Guildsmen and workers who have written best about the wonderful City of their birth. It was men born elsewhere who came to London and discovered her wonders. The truest and keenest of Cockneys, as I have always insisted, have been born far from the sound of Bow Bells.

CHAPTER XXV

WITS AND WINE

Who does not love wine, women, and song
Remains a fool his whole life long.

Translation of Persian poem of the sixth century.

OLD London fairly bristled with taverns, and the inn-keeper was already an honoured citizen in the days of Chaucer. These old houses played an important part in the national life, as if the coffee-houses were the birthplaces of great national institutions, such as the Stock Exchange, Lloyd's and the Baltic, the old taverns were equally the cradles of science, art, music and the drama.

If financial deals were effected in the coffee-houses, wits were sharpened, the national theatre developed and even museums instituted in the houses which confined their attention to sterner stuff and despised the new-fangled berry. Even after the brain-wave which gave birth to the coffee-houses the transaction of business continued to be carried on in the older establishments, and both traders and professional men used the tavern for both commercial and convivial purposes.

Real estate and merchandise were disposed of by the quaint custom known as "candle auction," house, employment, and matrimonial agents met their clients at the tavern tables and even lawyers and doctors could be consulted at their favourite houses of resort.

This feature of their activities, however, fades into significance when we consider the taverns as the resorts

of the wits and men of letters and of learning from the days of Queen Elizabeth to the times of Tennyson.

Starting from Temple Bar, if we stroll down Fleet Street we will find ourselves at once in the midst of some famous houses which have imperishable associations with all that is best in English literature and science. It was at No. 2 Fleet Street that Ben Jonson founded his famous Apollo Club, and the curious reader may be interested to know that he can still see the celebrated *Leges Conviviales* painted in gold letters on a blackboard in Child's Bank which stands on the site of the old tavern.

The name of this famous hostelry, the "Devil," was derived from the sign of St. Dunstan tweaking the devil's nose which stood over the door.

Here we find Swift writing to Stella, and here Colley Cibber rehearsed his famous Court odes.

Here sat Dr. Johnson to early hours in the morning drinking something stronger than his beloved tea, and here the Royal Society held its annual dinner for nearly a hundred years.

Across the road, at 201 Fleet Street, stood the "Cock" where Pepys tells us he used to take a pretty actress out to dinner, much to the annoyance of Mrs. Pepys, who put a stop to the practice by threatening to pinch the diarist with red hot tongs!

This famous tavern maintained its literary associations right up to almost our own times, as Tennyson was one of its habitués. Admirers of that great Victorian will recall that he apostrophises its "plump head waiter," asking him "to fetch a pint of port," suggesting that wine blends better with poetry than coffee.

The wall of Hoare's bank, 37 Fleet Street, bears a tablet marking the site of a more famous house than even the "Devil." On a portion of the site occupied by the Bank stood the "Mitre," which was probably well known to Shakespeare as one of his contemporaries, Robert Jackson,

wrote some verses which were inscribed as "Shakespeare's rime which he made at Ye Mitre in Fleet Street." It became a favourite resort of Dr. Johnson, and the scene of many of his meetings with his Scottish admirer Boswell.

It was at the "Mitre" that the great doctor and his biographer drank many bottles of port, and it was here that Johnson delivered his oft quoted panegyric on London.

"Sir," he said, "the happiness of London is not to be conceived but by those who have been in it. I will venture to say there is more learning and science within the circumference of ten miles from where we sit than in all the rest of the Kingdom."

Here Johnson often supped with his beloved Goldsmith and other members of his famous literary club, and here were held many of the earlier meetings of both the Royal Society and the Society of Antiquaries, justifying the Great Cham's claim that science as well as learning had their centre in the famous old "pub."

At 134 Fleet Street once stood the "Globe," fragrant with memories of Goldsmith and his Wednesday evening club.

The gifted Irishman on his way to the "Globe" one evening wrote some lines which it may be worth while to recall. He had heard that one of his protégés, Ned Purdon, a Grub Street hack, had dropped dead in Smithfield, and he commemorated him in the following epitaph:—

"Here lies poor Ned Purdon, from misery freed,
Who long was a booksellers' hack;
He led such a miserable life in this world,
I don't think he'll wish to come back."

Goldsmith sat beside another needy Irish doctor called Glover that evening who tells us that poor Noll, perhaps musing over his own life, mournfully repeated the last line under his breath.

Across the way, at 9 Salisbury Court, stands the "Barley Mow" (Ward's Irish House) the last of a curious variety of tavern which became popular after the death of Queen Anne.

These establishments were called "Mug Houses" and were the resort of Whig gentlemen, lawyers and tradesmen who met together to support the Hanoverian dynasty and oppose the Tories who favoured the lost Stuart cause.

The Whigs drank loyal toasts in mugs of beer, sang loyal songs, and organised processions which must have resembled those of the Orangemen of Ulster to-day as they wore orange cockades with the motto—

"With heart and hand
By George we'll stand."

The Tories, on the other hand, wore green ribbons and shouted "No King George." Needless to say, the two parties often came to blows, and Mug House riots were not uncommon.

A famous affray in Salisbury Court led to the shooting of a man by Mr. Read, the keeper of the local Mug House. The case was tried before the Lord Mayor, and five of the rioters were hanged at Tyburn, but the loyal Mug House keeper appears to have got off scot free.

A blue plaque on the front of the "White Swan Tavern" in Salisbury Court records the birthplace of Samuel Pepys, and close by in Dorset Street a "Rose and Crown" has stood in this little backwater since the great diarist recorded his visits to the fashionable theatre which flourished in its vicinity.

Passing to St. Paul's Churchyard one of the old taverns here was the forerunner of our modern museums, as it contained a fine collection of natural curiosities, the result of the owner's travels for many years in foreign lands.

The specimens must have been of scientific interest as

some at least of them were purchased by Sir Hans Sloane, the famous Court physician. This old house was originally known as the "Mitre," and seems to have provided some sort of musical entertainment for its habitués, as the arms of the Worshipful Company of Musicians, which consist of a swan surmounted by a lyre, were set up over the door.

When the establishment changed hands the *Tatler* says the succeeding landlord chose a goose striking the bars of a gridiron with his foot in ridicule of his predecessor's swan and harp!

Whatever the origin of its curious title this famous tavern is sacrosanct for Freemasons, as the Lodge of St. Paul, which was presided over for eighteen years by Sir Christopher Wren, met under its hospitable roof.

This Lodge was one of the four old Lodges which founded the Grand Lodge of England in 1717, and the earlier meetings of the Grand Lodge itself were held at the "Goose and Gridiron." St. Paul's Lodge changed its name to the Lodge of Antiquity soon after the formation of Grand Lodge, and preserves the mallet said to have been used by King Charles II at the laying of the foundation of St. Paul's and presented to his Lodge by Sir Christopher Wren. This precious relic was used at the laying of the foundation stone of the Masonic War Memorial in 1927, and more recently at the great ceremonial at Olympia for laying the foundation stone of the new Freemasons' Hospital and Nursing Home of which Lord Wakefield is the Chairman.

On the latter occasion no less than five Princes of the Blood Royal took part in the ceremony.

Little did the old members of the Craft who gathered round the great architect under the shadow of his noble masterpiece realize that they were founding the greatest esoteric Society the world has ever known.

Nearby in Paternoster Row the first Musical Society of London was founded.

The early makers of melody met at the "Castle Tavern," and their fraternity became famous in the eighteenth century.

Close to, or on the site of the "Castle", stood Dolly's Chop House, right up till 1885. It derived its name from Dolly, a renowned cook, who made the beef steaks and gill ales of the establishment so celebrated that they attracted famous personages from the Clubs of Pall Mall and St. James's. Dolly's portrait was painted by Gainsborough, and some other artist painted Queen Anne's head on one of the windows.

This painting gave the name of Queen's Head Passage to the narrow alley in which the tavern stood.

Passing to the Cheapside district, we come to perhaps the most famous tavern of them all.

It was called the "Mermaid," and is supposed to have stood in Bread Street with a side entrance in Friday Street and a passage to Cheapside; but Dr. Kenneth Rogers has given strong reasons for placing it further south, close to Old Fish Street in the parish of St. Mildred.

Here Sir Walter Raleigh is said to have instituted the Bread Street Club, and here, according to Gifford, who edited Ben Johnson's works, the great sea captain regularly repaired to meet Ben Jonson, Shakespeare, Beaumont, Fletcher, Selden, Donne and many others.

Doubts have been cast on the yarns which are told of these joyous gatherings of literary giants and the "wits' combats" which Fuller lovingly recalls, but *The Times* and *Encyclopaedia Britannica* accept them as historical facts, and Beaumont has left us an interesting record of his own visits in his epistle to Jonson:

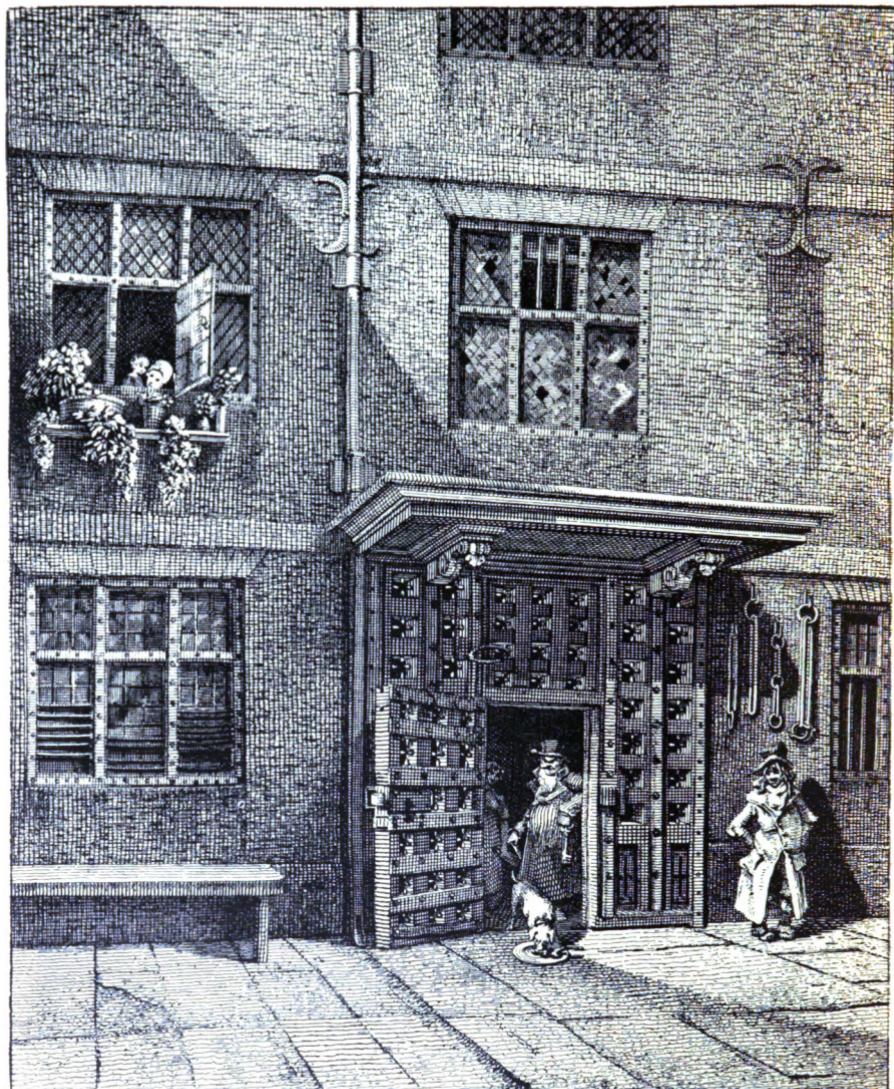
"Methinks the little wit I had is lost
Since I saw you; for wit is like a rest
Held up at tennis, which men do the best
With the best gamesters. What things have we seen
Done at the 'Mermaid?' Heard words that have been



A LONDON WATCHMAN

From an old print.

[*Face page 296*



[By kind permission of the City Press.

THE POULTRY COMPTOR

Face page 297]

So nimble, and so full of subtle flame,
As if that every one from whence they came
Had meant to put his whole wit in a jest,
And had resolved to live a fool the rest
Of his dull life. Then, when there hath been thrown
Wit able enough to justify the town
For three days past—wit that might warrant be
For the whole city to talk foolishly
Till that were cancelled; and when that was gone,
We left an air behind us, which alone
Was able to make the two next companies
Right witty; though but downright fools, more wise."

Passing down Gracechurch Street to Eastcheap we recall the "Boar's Head," which brings to our minds a thousand Shakespearian recollections; for here Falstaff came panting from Gadshill; here he snored behind the arras while Prince Harry laughed over his unconscionable tavern bill; and here, too, took place that wonderful scene where Falstaff and the prince alternately passed judgment on each other's follies, Falstaff acting the prince's father, and Prince Henry retorting by taking up the same part.

Goldsmith visited the "Boar's Head," and has left a delightful essay upon his day-dreams there, totally forgetting that the original inn had perished in the Great Fire. "The character of Falstaff," says the poet, "even with all his faults, gives me more consolation than the most studied efforts of wisdom. I here behold an agreeable old fellow forgetting age, and showing me the way to be young at sixty-five. Surely I am well able to be as merry, though not so comical as he. Is it not in my power to have, though not so much wit, at least as much vivacity? Age, care, wisdom, reflection, begone! I give you to the winds. Let's have t'other bottle. Here's to the memory of Shakespeare, Falstaff, and all the merry men of Eastcheap!"

Years after, that charming American writer, Washington Irving, followed in Goldsmith's steps and came to Eas tcheap

in 1818, to search for Falstaff relics, and at the "Masons' Arms," 12 Miles Lane, he was shown a tobacco-box and a sacramental cup from St. Michael's Church, which the poetical enthusiast mistook for a tavern goblet.

These old taverns are mostly mere memories, but a few survive with links which bind them to the past.

"The Tiger" on Tower Hill claims the patronage in person of Queen Elizabeth, and in his book on the Tower Sir George Younghusband relates that when she was a prisoner in the Bell Tower "a curious complaint tells us how her meals were supplied. Apparently she procured them from the Tiger Inn, which still stands just outside the Tower, for the Princess bitterly complains that 'the rascal soldiers' on duty at the Spur Guard took toll of her food as it passed the guard on the way in."

The "London Tavern" at the corner of Fenchurch Street and Mark Lane, occupies the site of the "King's Head" at which the Virgin Queen dined on pork and beans after her release from the Tower. This establishment was one of the hostelries which encouraged the art of song, and the City Glee Club, founded two centuries ago, still meets under its hospitable roof.

Close by, at 119 Fenchurch Street, is "The Elephant," a modern structure on the site of an ancient hostelry, where Hogarth is reputed to have painted four pictures on the wall to settle his score.

The "Czar's Head" in Great Tower Street perpetuates the memory of an ancient tavern to which Peter the Great used to resort after hard days of work in the shipbuilding yards, which in those days flourished on the nearby banks of the Thames. Here, we are told, the future Emperor drank like a boatswain, and consumed ale and brandy sufficient to wellnigh float one of the vessels he had been helping to construct.

"Ye Olde Watlinge" in Bow Lane came into being after the Great Fire expressly for the refreshment of Sir Christo-

pher Wren's workmen engaged in the rebuilding of the City, and the "Old Bell Tavern" is credited with being erected to supply the "spiritual needs" of the builders of St. Bride's Church in Fleet Street.

The "Albion" in Aldersgate Street was, within living memory, the Mecca of the diner-out.

Here were held the Sheriffs' Breakfasts, many corporation functions and a host of regimental dinners.

Even such semi-state ceremonial banquets as those given by the East India Company to Governors-General before their departure were held round its groaning tables.

Expense was no object in the good old days of the "Albion," as it is related that Sir William Curtis, an aldermanic gourmet, once gave a dinner to his friends which cost between thirty and forty pounds a head!

It is difficult to imagine how such a figure was reached, but it is, perhaps, explained when we learn that a messenger was sent to Westphalia to select a ham, and that this absurdity was paralleled by numerous similar extravagancies.

One of my colleagues in the City tells me that he remembers menus which contained no less than eight different kinds of fish, but he has been unable to produce a copy of one of them. In my own recollection three different kinds of fish was quite ordinary, and they were all served to each guest.

Perhaps it is as well for an abstemious generation that this great hostelry *has* passed away.

Amongst the surviving taverns it is only possible to mention a few, and pride of place must be given to the "Cheshire Cheese," where they still point out the favourite seats of Johnson and Goldsmith in the north-east corner of this cosy but unpretentious survival of the London of Queen Anne.

The "George and Vulture" in George Yard, Lombard Street, still merits Mr. Pickwick's description of being

"very good, old fashioned and comfortable" and is a great place of pilgrimage for lovers of Dickens.

Near by this famous house once stood Dr. Pinch's school at which Sir Henry Irving obtained his earlier knowledge of letters. The great actor started in life as a clerk in the City, and it is interesting to recall that one of his first successes was the character of Alfred Jingle in *Pickwick*.

One of the quaintest resorts of those who are fortunate enough to know it, is the "Wine and Spirit Vault" approached down stone steps in Mitre Court off Milk Street. It is an annexe of the "Hole in the Wall," owned by one of my colleagues on the Court of Common Council, and has been evolved from the remains of the old Wood Street Compter, or Debtors' Prison, which was demolished in 1791.

Here the best of wine can be enjoyed under the unique surroundings of old prison cells.

Across the way, Simpson's ancient house in Bird in the Hand Court keeps up the old custom of a Fish Ordinary at one o'clock under the presidency of a chairman who says grace. Special interest is maintained by the perpetuation of a guessing competition instituted as far back as 1723. The guests have to guess the height, weight and girth of a noble Cheddar cheese, and if anyone makes the right computation the entire company is treated to champagne. Needless to say the estimates are rarely even approximately correct, but framed records round the room testify to the skill of many competitors.

If we cross over London Bridge we find ourselves on the site of many ancient inns. Here till 1874 stood the "Tabard," the "gentil hosterie" where Chaucer assembled his Canterbury Pilgrims in the fourteenth century. No trace of this famous house remains, but a worthy successor to the "George Inn" mentioned by Stow still stands.

It was originally the "St. George," so it has no association

with the many hostellries which owe their names to Whig devotion to the House of Hanover.

In the year 1670 the "George" was in great part burnt down and demolished by a fire which broke out in this neighbourhood, and it was totally consumed by the great fire of Southwark some six years later; the owner was at that time one John Sayer, and the tenant Mark Weyland. "The present 'George Inn,'" continues Mr. Timbs, "although built only in the seventeenth century, seems to have been rebuilt on the old plan, having open wooden galleries leading to the chambers on each side of the inn-yard."

The "George" is amongst the old galleried inns beloved by Dickens, and as the original house was probably familiar to Shakespeare it was associated with special performances—such as the great poet himself was accustomed to take part in—so recently as last St. George's Day.

To do justice to the subject of the City's taverns in the brief space of a single chapter is a hopeless task, and I have merely touched the fringes of a fascinating theme.

Enough has, however, been said to show that the City's taverns, like the Sovereign City herself, have played an unique part in our national history, and that throughout the centuries there has been a close association between "Wits and Wine."

CHAPER XXVI

SOCIABILITY AND CITIZENSHIP

Let none but guests or clubbers hither come;
Let dunces, fools, and sordid men keep home;
Let learned, civil, merry men b'invited,
And modest too; nor be choice liquor slighted.
Let nothing in the treat offend the guest;
More for delight than cost prepare the feast.

Leges Conviviales of BEN JONSON.

MOST historians convey the impression that the former citizens of London were a lot of dull old dogs immersed in their civic duties and their commercial activities. Nothing could be further from the fact, as there can be little doubt that our forefathers, from time immemorial, have been a convivial crew, delighting in meeting together, singing songs and swopping yarns over their pipes and their glasses of beer or wine.

I have shown in previous chapters that adventurers like Raleigh, and men of letters like Jonson and Goldsmith, formed clubs at various taverns, and that even great learned Societies had their earlier meetings in what we would now call licensed premises.

The humbler townsmen were not much behindhand in forming their own Societies for meeting together. Newspapers were scarce until quite modern times, and the historian of Candlewick Ward Club tells us that "it was customary for men of all ranks to frequent the Taverns, where alone they could learn how 'the world wagged.' There, after the business of the day was over, they found an agreeable relaxation from the pursuits of active life in social intercourse and friendly jest; while at the same time

they could discuss passing events and circumstances of local interest. Hence, fixed periods for meeting and Rules for conduct arose among the frequenters of Taverns, resulting in the formation of Citizens' Clubs."

We do not know much about the earlier organizations, but it is certain there was a Citizens' Club which, early in the eighteenth century, and probably much earlier, met at the "Salutation Tavern," Nicholas Lane.

At first membership does not appear to have been restricted to residents in the Ward, but quite early this became a distinctive feature. The Clubs were in fact formed to foster an interest in special areas which, as I have already shown, were, and still are, associated with special branches of trade or industry.

The oldest of the Clubs now in existence is the Candlewick Ward Club. This Club was constituted about 1670, soon after the Citizens had settled down in their new homes after the Great Fire of London.

The members used to meet every Wednesday evening, in the winter from six to nine o'clock, and in the summer from seven to ten, and every member had to pay one shilling and a halfpenny if present, and threepence if absent. A dinner or supper was held quarterly.

Although the members were drawn from one small area, their interests were far from being parochial. Here is a list of the subjects they discussed between the middle of the eighteenth and the earlier days of the last century: "The conduct of the Duke of Cumberland in 1747; the selling price of the City Gates, which were pulled down in 1760; the effect on the Funds of Mr. Pitt's measures in 1765; Sir Francis Burdett's conduct in 1802; the Siege of Antwerp in 1809; the Corn Laws in 1815; whether 'Bonaparte would be Ruler of France this day next year,' just previous to the battle of Waterloo; the building of Southwark Bridge, and the taking down the houses on London Bridge; whether Rowland Hill, of Surrey Chapel,

was an ordained minister of the Church of England; and whether George IV. and his Queen would settle their differences without resort to Parliament."

Truly the old fellows of Candlewick were catholic in their interests. No doubt similar Clubs to the Candlewick Club existed in other Wards, but, if this is so, no record of them exists, and it was not till the beginning of the last century that a rival society was founded in Walbrook.

Walbrook Ward Club was started when a certain John Atkins was Alderman of the Ward. In 1819, during his Mayoralty, there was a serious dispute between the Lord Mayor and Mr. T. N. Williams, whom the Ward had elected to a seat in the Common Council. Mr. Williams was one of the four attorneys of the Mayor's Court. At the Ward-mote, Alderman Atkins, alluding to Mr. Williams, said, "You Gentlemen may elect this Lawyer if you please, I will never associate with him or put my feet under the same table." It was stated that this Mr. Williams had purchased, as far back as 1806 at a public sale of the Corporation of London, for 2,000 guineas his place and all the rights, fees and advantages thereto belonging, among which was the privilege of a seat at the table of the Sword Bearer at the Mansion House in rotation with the other three Attorneys of the Court. He accordingly took his seat at the Table on the first Plough Monday Dinner, the Lord Mayor coming in instantly walked up and said, "Sir, you are not invited," he then called to his servants, "Turn him out six of you for I am master of this house and I will be obeyed. Turn him out," and turned out he was, the Lord Mayor assisting in the operation! The next day Mr. Williams again took his seat at the table, when the Lord Mayor coming in shouted "Servants, turn him out; do as I bid you at the price of your places." How the matter ended does not appear, but there seems to have been serious dissatisfaction, not only with the Alderman of the Ward but also with the conduct of the Ward Representatives,

and the Club came in for severe criticism. The late Deputy White, the historian of the Ward, tells us that an "advertisement" appeared in the press comparing the Ward to a rotten borough, and describing it as "the Close Ward of Walbrook."

The "advertisement" went on to say that the Common Councilmen in order to preserve "a state of close coalition against the rights and interests of the Ward and to render this more effectual had established a Club under the name of the Walbrook Club which consisted of themselves, their Alderman and their supporters," allured and retained by regular invitations to Ward Dinners.

"But," this critic continues, "that this practice should be carried so far as that on the first day of polling the eight old members with the Alderman, Ward Clerk, Poll Clerk and their supporters should retire from the Ward Mote to a Club Dinner is so gross a violation of propriety and decorum that it is scarcely credible that they should dare to have recourse to it. However, this is not more strange than true. These open derelictions of propriety and decorum gave rise to doubts that all was not right, and induced a motion on the 2nd day for the production of the book in which was entered the receipts and expenditure of the watch and other rates. This motion was strongly and violently opposed by the whole coalition and was ultimately lost by one voice only and that one was not entitled to vote. A second motion was then made that the Book should be referred to a Committee of three impartial Freemen Householders of the Ward, but this was also in like manner resisted and lost. What then is the natural inference? Why, that this book contains some items not fit for the light. How long are the Inhabitants of this Walbrook Ward to be thus cajoled, terrified and despised?"

We find later on that a petition was presented to the Court of Aldermen as to the validity of the election. This Court set aside the election "on account of the improper conduct of the Lord Mayor."

The irregularities with regard to mismanagement of the Ward Fund by Alderman Atkins were surpassed in the days of his successor, Michael Gibbs, who, as Treasurer of the Ward Schools and Churchwarden of St. Stephens, seems to have made some errors in accountancy.

The upshot was a public scandal, and *Punch* came out with the following: "From hence the 28th of September, 1844, ought to be marked down as a day of fasting and humiliation in the Civic calendar, Gibbs has been elected Mayor, a result that, like the funds of St. Stephen Walbrook there appears to be no accounting for."

Later on some verses were inserted by a parishioner of St. Stephen Walbrook, which ran as follows:

"Last night an awful rumour came over Walbrook way,
And we heard our fine old Alderman, the balance meant to pay
The Vestry hoped it might be so, but nought else could we hear
To give us hope we should be out of Chancery this year.
All night we talked it over, we could not go to sleep
And this morning all through Walbrook on Gibbs our eyes
we keep
He rides among the Aldermen, his gay gown streaming free
But we fear that we may whistle, ere the balance we shall see."

Punch gives an account of the Alderman's Inaugural Banquet as Lord Mayor, at the conclusion of which, "The Lord Mayor returned thanks in an affecting speech. He said among other things that being intrusted as Lord Mayor with the civic scales of justice, he felt he should be quite happy so long as the Balance remained in his hands."

The last extract is entitled "The Gibbs Safety Lock." "The Church of St. Stephen Walbrook is open at the roof, also three of its windows, any burglar, says a parishioner, could break in with the greatest ease. We recommend the Parish to solicit Alderman Gibbs to cover up the apertures with his Churchwardens accounts, as no one has ever been known yet to get through them."

We hear no more of the Club till 1874, when its rules

were revised. It is now a flourishing concern under the able management of Mr. Humphrey William Morris, C.C.

Probably the troubles in Walbrook caused a setback to the development of other Ward Clubs, as we hear no more of these institutions for more than half a century.

In the latter half of the last century came a revival, and in the 'sixties the Coleman Street Ward Club was founded. At that period the Ward was almost entirely residential. Coleman Street had been, until comparatively recently, the main road out of the City to the north as Moorgate Street was not constructed till 1846. This new street was formed to link up Prince's and King William Streets, with the "new" London Bridge.

All the houses in Moorgate were built for private residence, and it is believed that the Royal Mail Steam Packet Company was first in commercialising the street by buying three houses and adapting them for offices.

The Club was at the outset an association of neighbours, and had a Ladies' Festival which took the form of a River Outing with Lunch and Dinner at Windsor. The following menu from a dinner in the later 'eighties illustrates the abundance of good fare provided in those days.

Mulligatawny.	Vermicelli.
Stewed Eels en Matelotte.	
Salmon, Lobster Sauce.	
Whitebait, plain and devilled.	
Oyster Patties.	
Sweetbreads and Mushrooms.	
Roast Turkey and Sausages.	
Boiled Fowls. York Ham.	
Saddles of Mutton. Dressed Salads.	
Roast Pheasants. Fried Potatoes.	
Sir Watkin Pudding.	
Orange and Noyeau Jellies.	
Stewed Prunes. Pine Apple Creams.	
Maids of Honour. Ice Pudding.	
Dessert.	

On this occasion Mr. Farrand Clarke, Prime Warden of the Blacksmiths' Company, was in the Chair, and it is interesting to learn that the musical programme which followed it was provided by the members themselves. "How they could sing after such a meal, I am at a loss to say," remarks Mr. Graham Bennett, the Club's able and energetic Secretary.

Nowadays the members are content with one bachelor dinner, one luncheon at the Guildhall, and a "Ladies' Night" held in the Hall of one of the City Companies.

Probably the success of the Coleman Street Club, and the Clubs started in Aldersgate and Cheap in the same year, induced their neighbours in Cripplegate to start a Club in 1878. The first dinner of the Club, like most select functions of the period, was held at the "Albion" in Aldersgate Street, and for ten years the Club used to have a summer outing for members and their ladies which consisted of a trip on the river on the *Maria Wood*, the old barge of the City Corporation. This trip started from Kew or Richmond and ended up at Sunbury, where the Alderman of the Ward had a riverside residence. The "Meeting" started with breakfast which was served from ten to twelve, and was followed by a more formal meal called "dejeuner" at three o'clock, over which the Master presided and at which speeches were made. Dinner was served at a quarter to six, when there were more speeches. Indeed the members of the old Ward Clubs must have been a most loquacious lot, as on some occasions there were no less than a dozen toasts. How these were got through, unless the replies were brief, is a puzzle to us moderns.

The Vintry Ward Club is just older than the Cripplegate body, as it celebrated its Jubilee in 1927. It is a very active organization under the administration of Sir Francis Green. The Club takes particular interest in Ward affairs, and a very large amount of its proceedings have been devoted to discussions of matters of interest to the members

doing business in the district. Like their neighbours in Coleman Street, the Vintry Ward Club Members used to "do themselves" particularly well. At a Ladies' Dinner held so recently as 1891 "the menu consisted of three courses of fish, two entrees, two joints, asparagus, duck, four sweets, ice pudding, ice, dessert, and savoury." The Vintry ladies of the early nineties cannot have been so concerned with "slimming" as their modern successors.

The value of these Clubs is evidenced by the fact that no less than seventeen of them now exist, as in addition to the Clubs already specifically mentioned, the following Wards have flourishing institutions, viz., Aldgate, Bassishaw, Billingsgate, Bishopsgate, Bridge, Castle Baynard, Farringdon, Langbourn and Portsoken, all of which have come into existence within the last half century. They play an important part in keeping up local interest, and serve to remind persons doing business in the district that each Ward was formerly a sort of little province ruled by the alderman, not only in a civil but, as we have seen, in a military capacity.

The present Clubs are divided into two classes, one of which goes in for educational lectures and another which restricts its activities to bringing together its members in social functions.

Nowadays I think the Clubs which are doing the best work are those which restrict their meetings to a very few gatherings at which some matter of public interest is introduced by a well-known authority on the subject. I attended a luncheon at the Ward of Cordwainer Club recently, as the guest of Colonel Whiteley, at which Lord Lloyd delivered a most inspiring speech on Imperial problems.

In this view I am honoured by finding myself in agreement with Sir Maurice Jenks, who is reported as congratulating the Aldersgate Ward Club on not exerting itself very strenuously in the improvement of its members. "Most of the men, who do a heavy day's work in the City, want to get back

to their homes as early as possible," said His Lordship. "My own Club has only two or three meetings in the course of a year, and those are purely of a social character. It does not go in for long papers about the history of the City, and, as President, I will not endeavour to persuade the members to take that step."

I think Lord Mayor Jenks is right, as there are, in addition to the Ward Clubs, a number of other Clubs which specialize on educational lectures—for instance, that ancient foundation the City Tradesmen's Club, which was established in 1720. This Club is open to persons in all kinds of commercial and professional pursuits, and discusses a wide range of subjects. Rivalling it in activity is the Antient Society of Cogers, a debating Society which was founded by Mr. Daniel Mason as long ago as 1755, and among its most eminent members glories in the names of John Wilkes, Judge Keogh, Daniel O'Connell, and the eloquent Curran. The word "Coger" does not imply codger, or a drinker of cogs but comes from *cogitare*, to consider thoroughly. The Grand, Vice-Grand, and Secretary are elected on the night of every 14th of June by show of hands. The room is open to strangers but the members have the right to speak first. The Society is republican in the best sense, for side by side sit master tradesmen, shopmen and clerks, journalists and young barristers who gravely sip their glasses of beer or cups of coffee, and smoke innumerable cigarettes whilst they listen to debates which often attain a high standard of excellence.

The Cogers had their original "Discussion Hall" at 10 Shoe Lane, but honoured the "Barley Mow" in Salisbury Court until comparatively recent years. The Society still meets on Saturday nights at the "Cannon" in Cannon Street, and quite recently the Grand Coger was my colleague, Mr. Charles Crossingham.

Similar to the Ward Clubs, but now independent of its original habitat, is the Bartholomew Club, which seems to have been founded at the end of the year 1855 by the

parishioners of St. Bartholomew the Great, who met "at the 'Rising Sun' Tavern, Cloth Fair, every night to discuss, and generally lament, the existing condition of things." "It is curious to note as showing how the trend of public opinion in the City has changed in recent years, that in the course of a discussion upon 'Toryism' which took place at a club meeting in 1859, we find Mr. Butcher lamenting the fact that the debate was entirely one-sided, for the reason that there was not a single Tory in the room, although there were some twenty members present."

The Club has had its "ups and downs" since its foundation, but continues to flourish and to hold regular meetings twice a month, at which interesting topical papers are read and all sorts of subjects of interest to the City are discussed.

One of the largest and most important of civic clubs is the United Wards Club which was formed by the inhabitants of the Wards of Castle Baynard, Farringdon Within and the vicinity at a Meeting held at the "Bell Tavern", Carter Lane, Doctors Commons in 1877.

In the following year the Club seems to have taken an active part in Ward Elections, and in 1881 we find it of the opinion "that the reform of the Local Government of the whole Metropolis demands the immediate attention of the Legislature, that such reform should embody the constitution of one municipality, that the ancient corporation of the City of London should be such municipality and should take the initiative of applying to Parliament for the necessary powers to enlarge its jurisdiction."

On December 5th, 1888, the Club considered the system of sweating, and the opinion was expressed that "dishonesty and sweating" went hand in hand to the detriment of the honest tradesman and "bread earner."

In 1897 it was ahead of its time, as it gave as its considered judgment the view that if a woman pays rates and her name appears on the Rate Book, she should be eligible to vote at Parliamentary Elections.

The Club was so fortunate as to secure permanent accommodation at the Cordwainers Hall in 1924, and has made remarkable progress since that year.

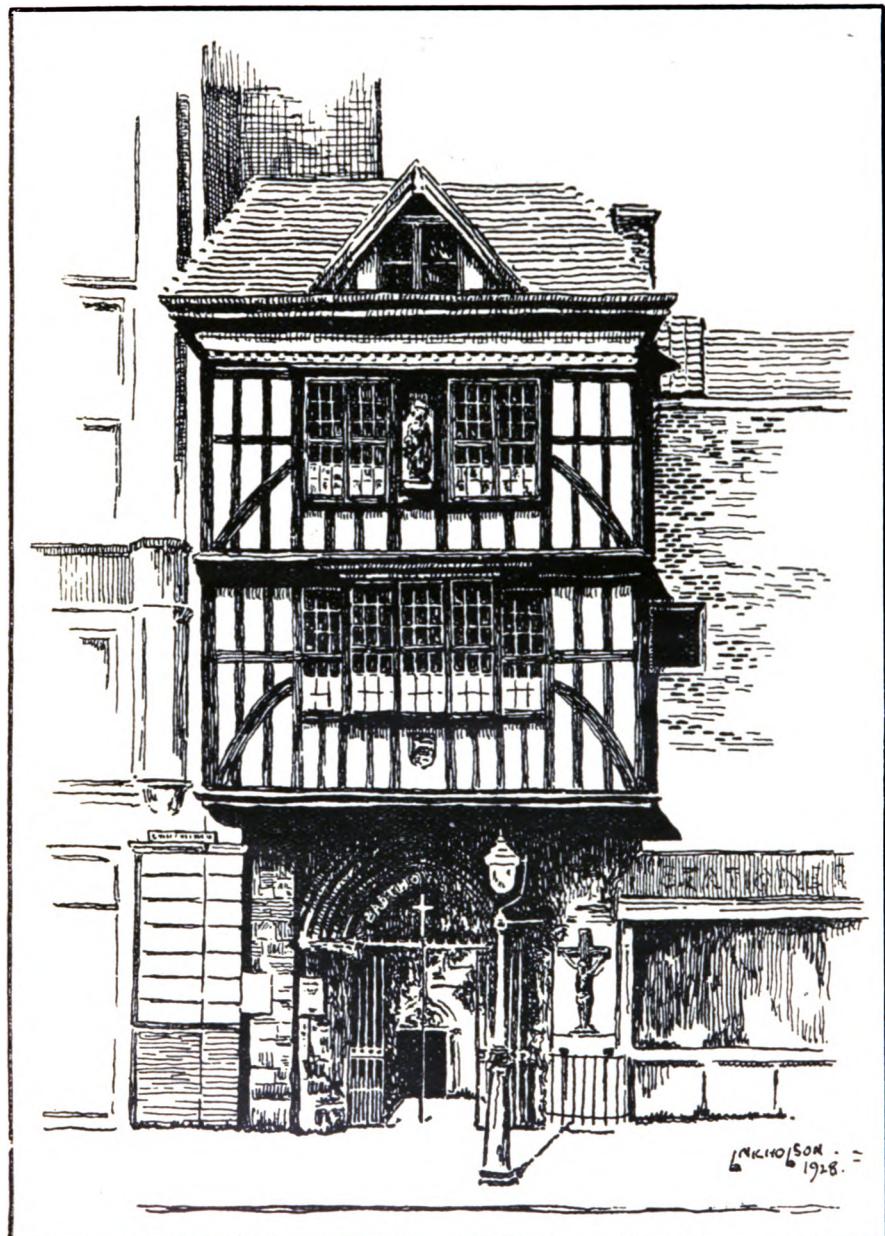
In 1906 the "United Wards" conceived the idea of paying visits abroad, to do its quota in strengthening the Entente Cordiale and fostering the friendship of the peoples of friendly countries, and, the War period excepted, these trips have taken place ever since with great success. During the past quarter of a century practically all the principal Continental cities, spas and seaside resorts have been visited.

One of the more recent additions to the City Clubs is the City Livery Club which is organised on entirely different lines to the clubs I have just mentioned, as it furnishes the ordinary amenities of a Social Club.

It not only provides luncheons and dinners for its members, but arranges a great variety of social functions. Amongst these are luncheons to celebrities of all kinds and special entertainments designed to bring together the members of groups of Companies.

A slightly older institution, which is largely composed of members of the Companies, is the Guild of Freemen. This Guild came into existence in 1908 and was originally designed for the benefit of Freemen who were not members of City Companies. The Guild is governed by a Master, Wardens and Court of Assistants on the lines of a City Company. The fee for membership is only a guinea a year, but the Guild manages to save money and to do a good deal of benevolent work. Social functions of various kinds are arranged, and the Guildsmen have the privilege of holding their annual dinner in Guildhall, with most of the stately ceremonial of the Lord Mayor's Banquet.

In the space of a single chapter it has been impossible to deal in any detail with a subject which has hitherto escaped the attention of most writers, but sufficient has, I think, been said to show that the City Clubs play an important rôle in promoting sociability and citizenship.



[By kind permission of Canon Savage, St. Bartholomew's the Great.
ST. BARTHOLOMEW'S GATE HOUSE

[Face page 312]



THE ROYAL EXCHANGE

[Photo : Humphrey and Vera Joel.]

Face page 313]

CHAPTER XXVII

EMPIRE BUILDING

Never the lotus closes, never the wild-fowl wake,
But a soul goes out on the East Wind that died for England's
sake—

Man or woman or suckling, mother or bride or maid—
Because on the bones of the English the English Flag is stayed.

KIPLING.

IN the last days of Queen Elizabeth England had no possessions outside Europe, for all schemes of settlement, from that of Hore in Henry VIII's time to those of Gilbert and Raleigh, had failed.

Great Britain did not exist, Scotland was a separate kingdom, and in Ireland the English were still a colony in the midst of an alien population.

England came late into the field of exploration. Thanks to her insular position and consequent isolation, she had advanced further than any other nation along the path of nationality and freedom. The system of land ownership introduced by William I had spared her the worst excesses of feudalism. Her nobility had not kept themselves separate from the other estates of the realm, nor were they exempt from taxation. The old English aristocracy, indeed, unlike that which for several centuries did as it pleased across the Channel, never openly despised trade—on the contrary, its members were for the most part only too ready to marry rich merchants' daughters. The Peerage, indeed, owes much to the City of London, which in former days restored the fortunes of many an ancient family.

Besides this, not a few wealthy traders of humble origin have ended their days with seats in the House of Lords.

Of all the families which figure in the Peerage to-day, only about eleven date from a period anterior to the Wars of the Roses, and even these have at some time or other been rejuvenated by some infusion of mercantile blood.

It was not, however, till Gloriana began to encourage her merchant adventurers that Englishmen turned their attention to the possibilities of trans-oceanic trade and distant exploration. The new spirit of daring and adventure gripped them, and soon English merchants, with the sword in one hand and a yard stick in the other, challenged the supremacy of other traders in every quarter of the globe.

The change in the trade routes due to the discovery of America meant very much to the nations of the Atlantic seaboard. France, England, and the Netherlands now occupied trading positions superior to those of the Mediterranean countries, and entered into competition with Spain and Portugal for the trade which was developing along the new sea routes. At first these countries tried to discover a north-eastern or north-western route which would enable them to journey to the Indies by way of the north of Asia or America. England was greatly interested in these routes, for the colder countries to the north were likely to become good centres for her increasing woollen trade.

Londoners were foremost in this quest for new markets, and we find the names of sons of the City sparkling in the story of those early settlements which led to the establishment of our great Dominions and Dependencies beyond the seas.

Early in the list of explorers stands the name of Henry Hudson, the grandson of Henry Hudson, or Herdson, an Alderman of London, a pathetic figure, who died ingloriously

but gave his name to an important inlet to the North American Continent.

Hudson's Bay in turn gave its name to one of those remarkable chartered companies which have done so much in building up our Empire.

The Company of Adventurers trading into Hudson's Bay is largely responsible for the fact that Canada is British to-day, and, had the Company's efforts prevailed, Washington and Oregon, and probably California, would not now be within the borders of the United States.

The story of the Hudson's Bay Company is so absorbing, and its ramifications so numerous, that volumes might be devoted to it, but it seems worthy of special notice here as its early records tell the remarkable services rendered to the Company by Henry Kelsey, a young gamin from the London streets.

Kelsey went out to Hudson Bay at the age of fourteen, and five years later started out to explore the vast treeless plains of Northern Canada.

Accompanied only by an Indian, he explored over two hundred miles of trackless void. "He went farther west than any white man had ever gone. He found a land beautiful in summer, rich with fur in winter, a land of plenty and of vast possibilities, and he brought back a fortune in pelts."

"He was the first Englishman to see a buffalo, the first to see a grizzly bear. He was the first Englishman to kill these animals. But many years were to pass before another Hudson's Bay employee was to see them."

For two years Kelsey lived as did the Indians, roaming plains and forests, hunting, starving, wearing leather garments, enduring constant privations. He was courageous and resourceful, otherwise he could not have retained the respect of the natives. It was a man's world, and a savage one, and the London boy proved himself worthy of the highest traditions of the English race.

Modern explorers, with the best of equipment, with all science has done to make life comfortable and safe in far places, cannot match Kelsey's feat.

Indeed, nowadays we can scarcely grasp the nature of a journey such as Kelsey made. Two hundred and forty years takes us back to a crude age. Firearms were heavy, cumbersome, inefficient and uncertain. Condensed and preserved food was unknown. Matches were undreamed of. Weatherproofed fabrics had not been invented.

His youth may explain his audacity, but is also a reason for added credit.

There is much more of interest about the Hudson's Bay Company; but space cannot be spared, and the reader who desires further information is referred to Robert E. Pinkerton's fascinating book, *Hudson's Bay Company*, recently published.

Earlier in the field as an explorer than even Hudson was Michael Lok, son of Sir William Lok, an Alderman and Sheriff of London, who was born in 1532 and left school at the age of thirteen for Flanders where he spent seven years. He went to Spain and Portugal, and there had an insight into the great trade carried on between the Peninsula and the West Indies.

He developed a real *wanderlust*, and visited all the countries of Christianity, eventually blossoming forth as the captain of a vessel of a thousand tons burden and becoming the firm friend of that great *voyageur*, Martin Frobisher. Lok entered warmly into the scheme for exploring the North West Passage to Cathay, and was appointed Governor of the Company formed to exploit this project.

He acted as business manager to Frobisher, but the enterprise was not a financial success.

Lok's first wife was the daughter of a Sheriff of London. He must have been an outstanding personality even amongst the real "tough nuts" of his time. He was one of those

stout Londoners with iron physique who laid the foundations of our West Indian colonies.

Lok seems to have thrived on privations, as he lived to the age of eighty-three, and during his comparatively brief spells ashore he not only married twice and raised a family of fifteen children but contemplated a third marriage in his old age!

Worthy of mention is Roger Williams, the son of James Williams, a merchant taylor of London, who was elected a scholar of Sutton's Hospital (Charterhouse) in 1621.

He went to Cambridge, graduated, and seems to have taken holy orders, but he disliked the Anglican liturgy, fell foul of Bishop Laud, and sailed for the infant colony of Massachusetts. Even the primitive comfort of the young colony was distasteful to Williams, and he started off to find a new site for a settlement, and after some wanderings founded a new "plantation" of his own at Providence. He came to England and obtained a charter in 1644 for "the Providence Plantations in the Narragansetts Bay." Ten years later he was elected Governor, or President, of Rhode Island.

Williams was an ardent Free Churchman and the author of many religious tracts, but he was a parson of the militant type, and in 1675 accepted a commission as Captain in the Militia and played a useful part in developing the military forces of the settlers at Providence.

Milton described Williams as an extraordinary man and a noble confessor of religious liberty, but his contemporaries in America did not regard him so highly. Whatever may be said of his religious and administrative activities he certainly showed a firm belief in the principle of toleration, and endeavoured to exercise that principle in his official life. He had great influence with the Indians, and is revered in the United States as the founder of the important state of Rhode Island.

Better known than any of the pioneers I have hitherto

mentioned is Captain John Smith, one of a little band of 105 colonists who sailed from Blackwall in 1606 to found Virginia.

Although only twenty-six years of age at the time, Smith had already spent five years wandering about Europe. These years were crowded with adventures.

Sailing in a pilgrim ship for Rome he was thrown overboard as a Huguenot. He was picked up by a pirate with whom he served for some time. Then he placed his sword at the service of first the Archduke of Austria and afterwards the Prince of Transylvania. Smith was taken prisoner and sent to Turkey as a slave, but killed his cruel master, managed to escape, and make his way back to England in time to join the expedition to Virginia.

With such a history it is not surprising to find Smith the life and soul of the new colony.

Smith must have been very much of a ladies' man, with a special appeal to the brunette. In Turkey he was "befriended" by a lady of quality, and history repeated itself, as in one of his exploring expeditions from the little Virginian settlement he was captured by the Indians but saved from slavery, or worse, by a princess of the tribe who fell in love with him and married him.

This lady was the famous Pocohontas about whom so many romantic stories are told; but whether these are true or not it is certain that Smith established very friendly relations between the colonists and the Indians. His dealings with the natives were always characterized by honesty and good judgment.

Smith rose to be the Governor of the colony in 1608. He governed with firmness and ability, built a church and induced the colonists not only to cultivate their lands but to embark on comparatively extensive fishing operations.

Smith returned to England, and his later years were spent in promoting American colonisation and the production in London of maps and pamphlets.

He is buried in St. Sepulchre's Church. On his monument the following quaint lines were formerly inscribed:—

" Here lies the one conquered that hath conquered kings,
Subdued large territories, and done things
Which to the world impossible would seem,
But that the truth is held in more esteem.
Shall I report his former service done,
In honour of his God, and Christendom?
How that he did divide, from pagans three,
Their heads and lives, types of his chivalry?—
For which great service, in that climate done,
Brave Sigismundus, King of Hungarion,
Did give him, as a coat of arms, to wear
These conquered heads, got by his sword and spear.
Or shall I tell of his adventures since
Done in Virginia, that large continent?
How that he subdued kings unto his yoke,
And made those heathens flee, as wind doth smoke;
And made their land, being so large a station,
An habitation for our Christian nation,
Where God is glorified, their wants supplied;
Which else, for necessaries, must have died.
But what avails his conquests, now he lies
Interred in earth, a prey to worms and flies?
Oh! may his soul in sweet Elysium sleep,
Until the Keeper, that all souls doth keep,
Return to judgment; and that after thence
With angels he may have his recompense."

Africa was the objective of a great number of enterprising Londoners, and three short-lived Guinea Companies were succeeded by the Royal African Company, founded in 1672, which had a monopoly of trade from the Cape to Tangier. I am afraid that the activities of some of the earlier African adventurers would hardly meet with our approval to-day. For instance, John Chester, the son of Sir William Chester, an Elizabethan Lord Mayor and Past Master of the Drapers'

Company, was associated with the famous, or rather infamous, John Hawkins, who discovered that negroes were "good merchandise in Hispaniola"!

The story of the extension of the British dominion in Africa is a fascinating one, but it is overshadowed by the still more remarkable romance of the steps by which London merchants established our great Empire in India.

The East India Company was really an offshoot from the Levant Company at a time when the war with Spain was interfering with our trade in the Near East.

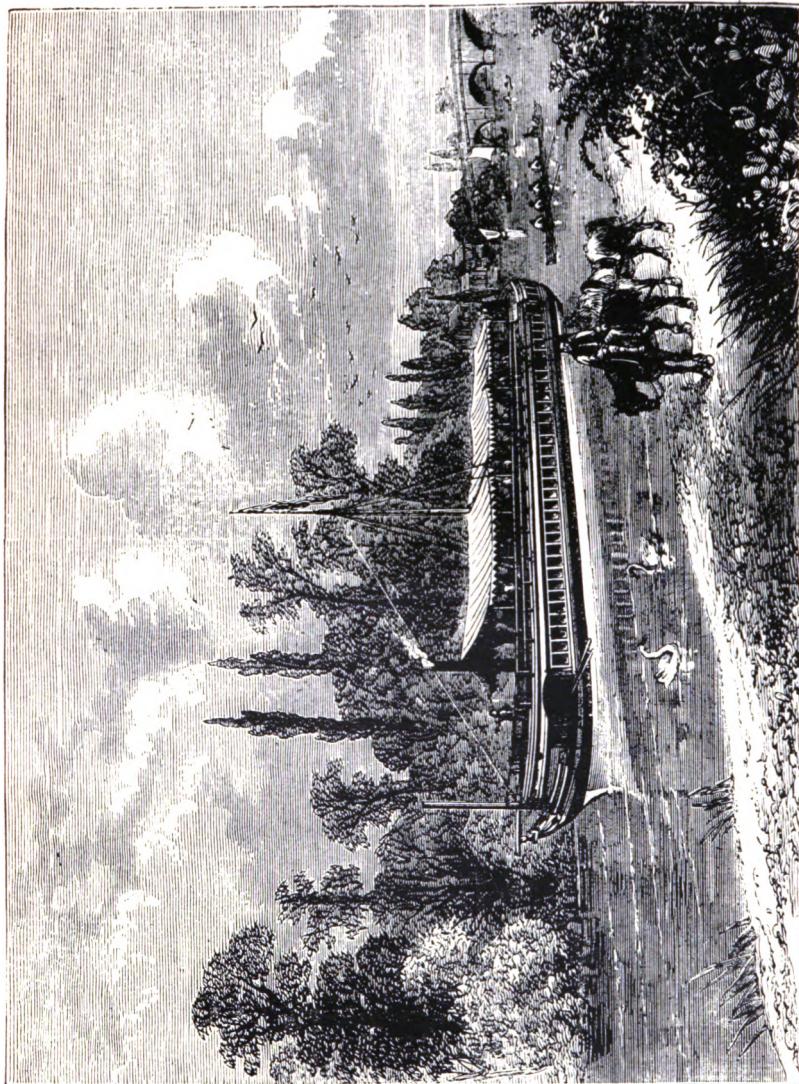
The close connection between the two Companies is illustrated by the fact that "the same volume was used as a letter-book by the Levant Adventurers and for the earliest minutes of the East Indian Merchants."

I have referred in my book on *London's Livery Companies* to the part which the members of the City Companies played in the extension of overseas trade, so it is not surprising to find a Liveryman at the helm when the new Company was launched.

This man was Sir Thomas Smith, or Smythe, the son of a City haberdasher who flourished at the end of the sixteenth century. Smith was a Freeman of the Haberdashers' and Skinners' Companies, and rapidly rose to wealth and distinction. When the East India Company was formed he was elected its first Governor, and his appointment was confirmed in the Company's first charter.

His grandfather, Sir Andrew Judde, was one of the founders of the Muscovy Company. In 1604 Sir Thomas was appointed special ambassador to the Tsar of Russia, and he sailed from Gravesend to Archangel and thence down the Dvina to Vologda. So he was a pioneer in opening up trade between this country and Central Russia.

Smith and his associates on the first Court turned their attention to Malaysia, but their successors eventually concentrated their efforts on the Indian mainland. Here the Company built a Fort at Madras in 1640, in 1669



THE "MARIA WOOD"
The last of the Barges of the Corporation of London.

[*Face page 320*



THE CHILD OF ARTHUR PHILLIP
A street in Sydney, New South Wales.

Face page 321]

acquired Bombay from Charles II, and in 1696 built Fort William at Calcutta.

The London Company had serious rivals at first in the Dutch and later in the French companies.

I will not attempt to follow the romantic story which tells how this Company of London merchants, carrying out not only commercial enterprise by its officials but military operations with its own troops—for no King's troops reached India till 1754—gradually absorbed the whole of the Indian Peninsula. Brilliant French diplomatists and dashing Gallic soldiers broke against the indomitable courage of the London traders, and to-day the once powerful French influence is represented by Pondicherry and Karikal on the Coromandel coast, and Chandernagar, a small town near Calcutta. Portugal still holds Goa, and a considerable tract of country south of Bombay, Daman, a few square miles on the Gujerat coast and a small island called Diu, whilst the Austrian efforts to establish an Empire in India are now mere memories.

The vision of those seventeenth-century London merchants was marvellous, for they laid the foundations of what has become the pivot and centre of the British Empire. Thanks to them England became before and beyond all else an Asiatic Dominion; and I venture to think that the man who has never been East of Suez does not know what the British Empire really is. Here in Europe we occupy a few small islands in the North Sea. We possess a number of carefully selected points of vantage along the highways of commerce in the Mediterranean.

Elsewhere, on the American Continent, in the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, are the great self-governing Dominions peopled by people of our own blood, flying the same flag and enjoying the sovereignty of the same King.

Similar colonies have been founded by other nations on a smaller scale, but in India we are doing work which no

other people has ever attempted before, and by the doing of which we shall be judged in history.

There lies the true fulcrum of dominion, the real touch-stone of our Imperial greatness or failure.

Why were we first tempted into Egypt? Because it lies on the road to India. What was the origin of our colonies at the Cape? Because we went that way to India.

In India we have the nearest approach in modern times to the old Roman system of Empire, but with one great difference in favour of Britain. India is governed for her own benefit. Though more completely a British Possession by right of conquest than any large territory under "the Flag," we hold it for its own sake more than for our own.

It is disturbing to think that the great work of Sir Thomas Smith and his successors has been endangered by modern muddling, and that we are inclined to forget the warning of that great Londoner—Lord Beaconsfield—who in the last speech he delivered before his death, said:

"The key of India is London ; the majesty of sovereignty, the spirit and vigour of your Parliament, the inexhaustible resources, the ingenuity and determination of your people —*these are the keys of India.*"

Turn where you will in our island story, you will see London playing its part in building up our far-flung Empire.

Passing on from India to Australia we find a Bread Street boy its first Governor.

Arthur Phillip was born in the parish of All Hallows, Bread Street, on October 11th, 1738.

In 1786 he was entrusted with the task of forming a convict settlement in Australia. He sailed in 1787 with a single frigate, a tender, three store ships and six transports of convicts with their guard of marines.

Troubles began early, as the convicts on one ship had planned to seize the ship, but the prompt and resolute

action of Phillip quelled the mutiny. After eight months' voyage Phillip reached Botany Bay, but was not satisfied with it and pushed on to Port Jackson, a harbour mentioned by Captain Cook.

Here without hesitation he founded the new settlement, christening it Sydney, after Thomas Townshend, Viscount Sydney, the then Secretary of State. The early difficulties which had to be encountered were immense.

Food was scarce, and it was not till two years after landing that the danger of starvation was finally removed!

Phillip shared all privations himself, and by his example kept the little colony from losing heart. He conciliated the natives and showed great bravery when, during a visit to one of the chiefs, he was attacked and wounded by a spear.

The chiefs became so fond of him that when he left for England they wanted to accompany him.

Phillip was a great Londoner, and his energy and self-reliance, accompanied by humanity and firmness, made a lasting impression on New South Wales.

He permanently inspired the colony, despite the unpromising material out of which it was made, with an habitual respect for law, a deference to constituted authority and an orderly behaviour.

Phillip is not forgotten. The alderman of the Ward in which he was born is raising a splendid tribute to his memory.

Lord Wakefield is a worthy successor to the great merchant adventurers whose enterprise created the British Empire.

When—at I hope some very distant date—his epitaph comes to be written, it may well bear similar words to those which commemorated Alderman Richard Staple in the old Church of St. Martin, Outwich. The legend ran: "He was the greatest merchant in his time; . . . a man humble in prosperity, painful and ever ready in affairs public, and

discreetly careful of his private. A liberal housekeeper, bountiful to the Poor, an upright dealer in the world, and a devout inquirer after the world to come. . . . *Intravit ut exiret.*"

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INDEX

A

Act, London Bridge Approaches, 132
 Adams, John Quincy, 123
 Addison, Joseph, 271
 Aldermen, Court of, 14
 —, Election and Duties of, 16, 17
 Aleconners, 156
 Aleyn, Sir John, 31
 Amen Corner, 216
 Amiens, 187
 Antwerp, 7
 —, Siege of, 178
 Apollo Club, 284
 Apothecaries, Worshipful Society of, 220, 221
 —, Hall, 97, 221
 Armentières, 187
 Artillery Company, The Honourable, 169, 172
 Askew, Anne, 62
 Asquith, Herbert Henry, 178, 200
 Atkins, Alderman John, 304, 306
 Augusta, 3, 4

B

Bacon, Charles, 132
 Bacon, Francis, 285
 Bailleul, 187
 Bakers' Hall, 103
 Balfour, Miss, 94, 139
 Balfour, Lord, 178, 188
 Baltic, The, 279
 —, Coffee House, 278, 279
 Banks: Barclays, 164
 —, England, The Bank of, 161, 275
 —, Glyn, Mills and Company, 165

Banks: Gosling's, 164
 —, Hoare's, 165
 —, Lloyds, 164
 —, London and Westminster, The 165
 —, Midland, The, 164
 —, National Provincial, The, 164
 —, Parr's, 165
 —, Smith's, 164
 Bankers' Battalion, 180
 Barber-Surgeons, Worshipful Company of, 218
 —, Hall, 97, 218
 Barnard's Inn, 199
 Baynard, Ralph, 90
 Beaconsfield, Lord, 322
 Beckford, Lord Mayor, 64
 Belfast Banking Company, The, 164
 Bell, Sir James, 53
 Belloc, Hilaire, 167
 Benevolences, 8
 Bennett, Graham, 308
 Beresford, F. E., 120
 Bermondsey, Prior of, 224
 Besant, Sir Walter, 7, 117, 118
 Best, Edna, 211
 Bethlem, Convalescent Home of, 196
 —, House and Hospital of, 193, 196
 Birch, Lucas, 94
 Birch, Sir Samuel, 94
 Bird, Francis, 134
 Birdwood, Sir George, 126
 Birkbeck College, 208
 Birkbeck, Dr. George, 208
 Blackfriars Bridge, 153
 Blackham, Sir Richard, 171
 Black Prince, 104
 Blackstone, William, 285
 Blades, Sir G. R., 189

- Blake, Robert, 175
 Blenheim, Battle of, 171
 Boleyn, Sir Geoffrey, 7
 Bonar Law, 178, 186, 187
 Bowater, Sir Vansittart, 66, 177
 Bowes, Sir Martin, 32
 Brewer, Dr., 194
 Brewers, Worshipful Company of, 192
 —, Hall, 96
 Bridewell, Royal Palace of, 193
 Bridge House Estates, 152
 Bridge Master, Election of, 156
 British Red Cross Society, City Branch, 178
 Broke, Lord, 285
 Brougham, Lord, 199
 Bruce, A. K., 137
 Bruges, 7
 Brussels, Occupation of, 178
 Brutus, 2
 Buckingham, Duke of, 137
 Bukerel, Andrew, 91
 Bullion Committee, 135
 Burdett, Sir Francis, 64
 Burnham, Lord, 266
 Burns, The Right Hon. John, 138
 Business Man's Week, 187
 Butchers' Hall, 290
 Butcher, Mr., 311
 Butterworth, J. W., 119
- C
- Cade, Jack, 62
 Camden, William, 106, 285
 Canning, George, 127
 Caporetto, 187
 Carmelite Street, 201
 Carpenter, John, 199, 210
 Carpenters' Hall, 89
 Cass, Sir John, Foundation, 202
 Cavendish Square, 213
 Central Criminal Court, 20, 236
 Chamberlain, City, 49
 —, King's, 49
 Chamberlain's Court, Powers of, 51
 Change Alley, 275
 Chantrey, Sir Francis, 132
- Charles I, 8, 159
 Charles II, 10, 170
 —, Charter to Lichfield, 41
 Chaucer, Geoffrey, 282, 283
 —, Birthplace of, 104
 Chester, John, 319
 Chester, Sir William, 319
 Chief Commoner, 20
 Child, Messrs. and Company, 160
 Child, Sir Francis, 160
 Christ's Hospital, 223, 224
 Churches: All Hallows', Barking-by-the-Tower, 122
 —, All Hallows', Bread Street, 285
 —, City Temple, 128
 —, St. Andrew Undershaft, 121
 —, St. Bartholomew the Great, 118
 —, St. Botolph's, Bishopsgate, 128
 —, St. Bride's, 203
 —, St. Dunstan's in the West, 131
 —, St. Ethelfreda, Ely Place, 128
 —, St. Giles, Cripplegate, 121
 —, St. Helen's, Bishopsgate, 121
 —, St. Katherine Cree, 122
 —, St. Magnus, 157
 —, St. Margaret Pattens, 125
 —, St. Martin's, Ludgate Hill, 125
 —, St. Mary Axe, 121
 —, St. Mary Cole in the Cheap, 149
 —, St. Mary-le-Bow, 125
 —, St. Mary, Moorfields, 128
 —, St. Olave, Hart Street, 121
 —, St. Paul's Cathedral, 9, 118
 —, St. Vedast's, Foster Lane, 125
 Cibber, Caius Gabriel, 136
 City Apprentice, Suing of, 67
 City Companies, Yeoman of, 16
 City Comptroller, 53
 City, Freemen of, 16
 City and Guilds Engineering College, 207
 City and Guilds South London Technical Art School, 208
 City Imperial Volunteers, 173
 City of London College, 209
 City of London Court, 240

- City of London, Corporation of,
Committees:
—, Bridge House Estates, 20
—, Cattle Markets, 258
—, Central Markets, 258
—, City Lands, 20
—, Coal, Corn and Finance, 20, 269
—, Leadenhall Markets, 258
—, Rates Finance, 20
Trusts:
—, Emmanuel Hospital, 227
—, Gresham Alms Houses, 228
—, London Alms Houses, 227
—, Morden College, 228
—, Wilson's Loan Charity, 229
- City of London
—, Common Council of, 8, 11, 14, 186
—, Election and Duties of, 18, 19
—, Robes of, 73
—, Police, 15, 246
—, Safeguarding Property of, 246
—, Special Constabulary of, 247
—, —, The Wakefield Mess, 248
- City Marshal, 38
- City Militia, 171
- City National Guard Lodge, 185
- City, Parliamentary Register of, 16
- City Recorder, 243
- City Remembrancer, 54
- City Secondary, 57
- City Solicitor, 14, 55
- City Sword Bearer, 37
- City Town Clerk, 52
- City Volunteers, 172
- Cloaker, Henry, 157
- Clothworkers' Hall, 103
- Club, Aldersgate Ward, 308
—, Aldgate Ward, 309
—, Ancient Society of Cogers, 310
—, Bartholomew, 310
—, Bassishaw, Ward, 309
—, Billingsgate Ward, 309
—, Bishopsgate Ward, 309
—, Bread Street Ward, 296
—, Bridge Ward, 309
—, Candlewick Ward, 303, 304
—, Castle Baynard Ward, 14, 309
—, Cheap Ward, 308
- Club, Citizens, 303
—, City Glee, 298
—, City Livery, 312
—, City Tradesmen's, 310
—, Coleman Street Ward, 307
—, Cordwainer Ward, 309
—, Cripplegate Ward, 308
—, Farringdon Ward, 309
—, Freemen, Guild of, 312
—, Langbourn Ward, 309
—, Portsoken Ward, 309
—, United Wards, 311
—, Vintry Ward, 308
—, Walbrook Ward, 304
- Coates, Sir John, 215
- Cole, Maurice, 211
- Coleridge, Samuel, 198
- Commission, Royal 1921, 12
- Committee, Lord Mayor and Sheriffs, 35
- Common Cryer and Sergeant-at-Arms, 14, 37
- Common Hall, 14
- Common Serjeant, 244
- Conqueror, William the, 5
- Coopers' Hall, 84
- Corbet, Bishop, 121
- Cordwainers' Hall, 89
- Corn Exchange, 279
- Cornhill Military Association, 172
- Corps of Citizens, 180
- Coventry, Mr., 161
- Coward, Noel, 211
- Cowley, Abraham, 286
- Coxen, Alderman Sir William, 84
- Cromwell, Oliver, 8, 122, 170
- Crosby, Lord Mayor, 64
- Crossingham, Charles, C.C., 310
- Crusade, The Third, 6
- Curran, John Philpot, 310
- Currie and Company, 166
- Curtis, Sir William, 299
- Cutlers' Hall, 97
- D
- Dance, George, 36
- de Farndone, Nicholas, 15
- Defoe, Daniel, 274, 283, 290

de Morancy, Marquis, Mayor of Chateaudun, 230
 de Pulteney, John, 15
 Derby, Lord, 182
 Dickens, Charles, 146, 283
 Digby, Sir Kenelm, 205
 Disraeli, Benjamin, 83
 Dobbs, Sir Richard, 197
 Dove, F. L., 119
 Drake, Sir Francis, 7
 Drapers, Worshipful Company of, 261
 —, Hall, 89
 Dryden, John, 220
 Dunn, Sir William, 186
 Dyers' Hall, 96

E

Earle, Bishop, 120
 East India Company, 320
 East Indian Merchants, 320
 Ebbisham, The Right Hon. The Lord, 189
 Edward II, 6,
 Edward III, 104, 118, 234, 251
 Edward IV, 6, 237
 Edward VI, 193, 196, 197, 223
 Edward VII, 132, 209
 Eldenes Lane, 216
 Ethelfreda, 4
 Ethelred, 4
 Expeditionary Force, Italian, 187

F

Fairless, Margaret, 211
 Farrington Ward, 15
 Fathers, City, 6
 Finsbury Barracks, 178
 Fire, Great, 9
 Fleet Street, No. 2, 292
 Fletcher, Sir Banister, 124
 Folk-Mote, 12
 Foxe, John, 122
 Frobisher, Sir Martin, 122, 175, 316
 Fry, Elizabeth, 227
 Furnese, Sir Henry, 274

G

Gaol Delivery Rolls, 234
 Gardens, Bridgewater Square, 260
 —, Finsbury Circus, 260
 —, St. Antholin, 261
 —, St. Bartholomew's, 260
 —, St. Bartholomew the Great, 261
 —, St. Giles, 261
 —, St. Pancras, 261
 —, St. Paul's Churchyard, 259
 —, Temple Gardens, 260
 Garraway's, Tea first retails at, 93, 274
 Garth, Sir Samuel, 221, 288
 Gautby Park, 132
 Gay, John, 113, 273
 Gayer, Sir John, 122
 George II, 151, 237
 George III, 172, 218
 George IV, 23, 219
 Gibbons, Grinling, 124
 Gibbs, Michael, 306
 Gifford, William, 296
 Girdlers' Hall, 262
 Glover, Dr., 293
 Goddard, Dr., 205
 Godfrey, Michael, 161
 Goldsmith, Oliver, 137, 293
 Goldsmiths' Hall, 82
 Gomme, Sir Laurence, 12, 78, 106, 167
 Gordon Riots, 126, 154, 172
 Grand Lodge of England, 295
 Gray, Thomas, 265, 288
 Great Synagogue, St. James's, Alder-gate Street, 127
 Green, Sir Francis Haydn, 308
 Gresham College, 205-207
 Gresham, Sir Thomas, 87, 204, 228
 Grey, Earl, 65, 283
 Greyfriars, Convent and Church of, 192, 196
 —, Church of, 197
 Griffin, The, 130
 Grocers, Worshipful Company of, 191, 219
 —, Hall, 91

Grocers, Master, 191
 Guildhall, 14, 60, 178, 187
 Guildhall, Queen Victoria and Prince Consort, visit to, 76
 Guildhall School of Music, 210
 Guild of Freemen, 312
 Gurney, John, 268
 Guy, Thomas, 224, 225
 Gwyn, Nell, 160

H

Haberdashers', Worshipful Company of, Hall, 82, 95
 Hall, F. W. T., 119
 Hammond, William, 275
 Hanson, Sir Charles, 186, 188, 189
 Harley, Edward, Earl of Oxford and Mortimer, 213
 Harley Fields, 213
 Harley Street, 213
 Harper, Charles G., 125, 126
 Harry, George Owen, 2
 Hartley's Wharf, Horsleydown, 155
 Hastings, Battle of, 4
 Haverfield, Professor, 2
 Hawkins, John, 320
 Hawkwood, Sir John, 253
 Helena, The Empress, 3
 Henry I, 5, 233
 Henry II, 117, 233
 Henry IV, 252
 Henry V, 214
 Henry V and Queen Catherine, 105
 Henry VI, 198, 199
 Henry VII, 7
 Henry VIII, 7, 105, 116, 167, 169, 192, 196, 199, 214, 224
 Henrietta Street, 213
 Herrick, Robert, 286
 Hess, Myra, 211
 Hewett, Sir William, 149
 Hoare, James, 161
 Holbein, Hans, 109
 Holles, Lady Henrietta Cavendish, 213
 Holles, John, Duke of Newcastle, 212
 Holles Street, 213
 Honey Lane Market, 199
 Hood, Tom, 288

Hopkins, Douglas E., 211
 Horton, Mr., 94
 Howard, John, 227
 Hudson's Bay Company, 315
 Hudson, Henry, 314
 Hull, Thomas Harvey, 38
 Humphrey, Sir John, 178
 Hundred Motes, 13
 Husting, Court of, 13, 233, 239

I

Imogen, 2
 Imperial Cadet Yeomanry, 180
 Imperial College of Science and Technology, 207
 Imperial Patriotic Meeting Guildhall, 179
 Inner Temple, 283
 Innholders', Worshipful Company of, Hall, 96
 Institute of City and London Guilds, 207
 Irish Society, The Honourable the, 19
 Ironmongers', The Worshipful Company of, Hall, 82
 Irving, Sir Henry, 300
 Irving, Washington, 297
 Isle of Dogs, 145

J

Jackson, Robert, 292
 James I, 19, 139, 140, 228
 James II, 10
 Jeffreys, Lord Chief Justice, 10
 Jeffries, J. W., 110
 Jellicoe, Admiral of the Fleet, 184
 Jenks, The Rt. Honourable the Lord Mayor, 309-310
 Jericho, Walls of, 10
 Jingle, Alfred, 300
 John Carpenter, School of, 200
 Johnson, Doctor, 108, 114, 153, 215, 292, 293
 —, Residence of, 98,
 Johnston, Sir Charles, 179
 Joiners', Worshipful Company of, Hall, 96
 Jonathan's Coffee House, 93, 273, 274

Jones, Inigo, 122
 Jonson, Ben, 120, 284, 285, 292
 Judde, Sir Andrew, 320
 Justices of Oyer and Terminer, 237
 Juvenal, Thomas, 244

K

Keats, John, 288
 Kelsey, Henry, 315
 Keogh, Judge, 310
 Kemmel, 187
 King Alfred, 4
 King of Cyprus, 104
 King David of Scotland, 104
 King George V, visit to the City of, in 1911, 25
 King George V, 155
 King John, 249
 King John of France, 104
 King Stephen, 167
 King's Grocer's House, 191
 Kings, Plantagenet, 5
 Kingston, 5
 Kitchener, Lord, 179, 183
 Knightrider Street, 215
 Knights Templar, 109

L

Labbette, Dora, 211
 Lake, Cuthbert, 157
 Lamb, Charles, 198, 289
 Laud, Archbishop, 122
 Leathersellers', Worshipful Company of, Hall, 86
 Le Brun, Walter, 56
 Le Cateau, Battle of, 178
 Leeds, Duke of, 150
 Levant Adventurers, 320
 Levant Company, 320
 Lichfield, "Sheriffs Ride" at, 40
 Liège, Siege of, 178
 Linacre, Thomas, 215
 Linney, A. G., 146
 Lion Sermon, The, 122
 Lloyd's Coffee House, 277
 Lloyd, Edward, 277, 278,
 Lloyd, Sir Francis, 185
 Lloyd, Lord, 309

Lloyd George, The Rt. Hon. David, 144
 Lodge of Antiquity, 295
 Lodge of St. Paul, 295
 Lok, Michael, 316
 Lok, Sir William, 316
 London, Portreve of, 5
 —, Salvage Corps, 276
 —, Sanitary Authority, Port of, 143
 —, Sheriffs of, 5
 —, Shipping Exchange, 279
 Longchamp, William de, 6
 Lord Mayor, Allowance of, 31
 —, Appointment, King's Approval, 30
 —, Badge of, 32
 —, Banquet, 35. Attendance of Queen Victoria at, 63
 —, Battalion, 180
 —, Election of, 26-29
 —, Mace of, 33
 —, Pearl Sword of, 33
 —, Presentation Dinner of, 30
 —, Presentation of, at Law Courts, 35
 —, Private Secretary to, 38
 —, Rank and Ancient Rights of, 23, 25
 —, SS. Collar of, 31
 —, State Sword of, 33
 —, "Swearing in" of, 30
 Louvain, Sacking of, 178
 Loyal London Volunteers, 172
 Lucas, E. V., 281
 Lutine Bell, The, 278

M

McAuliffe, Sir Henry, 20
 Macaulay, Lord, 162, 261, 281
 Magna Carta, 6
 Mansion House, 37
 —, Justice Room, 238
 Market, Billingsgate, 249, 252
 —, Caledonian, 256
 —, Farringdon Street, 250
 —, Foreign Cattle, 256
 —, Leadenhall, 253
 —, Leather Lane, 250

Market, Metropolitan Cattle, 255
 —, Middlesex Street, 250
 —, Petticoat Lane, 250
 —, Spitalfields, 257
 —, Smithfield Central Markets, 254
 Marlborough, Duchess of, 274
 —, Duke of, 274
 Marne, The, 189
 Marshall, Sir H. B., 189
 Mary, Queen of Scotland, 131
 Mason, Daniel, 310
 Masons' Hall, 84
 Master Mariners, Worshipful Company of, 15
 Matania, J., 3
 Mayor's Court, 14, 235
 Maywell, Mr., 161
 Mead, Dr. Richard, 206
 Mercers, Worshipful Company of, 191, 204
 —, Hall, 91
 Merchant Taylors, Worshipful Company of, 191-192
 —, Hall, 89
 Mercia, 4
 Mesopotamia, 189
 Merry Monarch, The, 10
 Metropolitan Police Force, 246
 Middlesex, Shrievalty of, 5
 Middle Temple, 283
 Milman, Miss Lena, 124
 Milton, John, 88, 122, 285, 317
 Moira, Professor Gerald, 236
 Monk's Orchard, 226
 Mons, 178
 Monument, The, 135
 More, Hannah, 281
 More, Sir Thomas, 285
 Morden, Sir John, 228, 229
 Morley, Thomas, 209
 Morris, H. W., C. C., 307
 Muscovy Company, 320
 Musical Society of London, foundation of, 295

N

Napoleon, 172
 Napoleon III, 285
 National Guard, 180

Naylor, Robert, 211
 Nelson, 175
 Newby Hall, 132
 Newgate Prison, 212
 Newell, Raymond, 211

O

O'Connell, Daniel, 310
 O'Donoghue, Rev. E. G., 193, 195
 Old Jerusalem Coffee House, 279
 Oliver, Alderman, 64
 Open Spaces, Burnham Beeches, 266
 —, Coulsdon Common, 266
 —, Epping Forest, 263-265
 —, Highgate Wood, 267
 —, Kenley Common, 266
 —, Nork Park Estate, 267
 —, Queen's Park, Kilburn, 267
 —, West Ham Park, 268
 —, West Wickham Common, 267
 Orange, Prince of, 64
 Osborne, Edward, 149

P

Painter, Deputy, 178
 Painters' Hall, 102
 Palestine, 189
 Passchendaele, 187
 Parker, Dr. Joseph, 128
 Paterson, William, 161
 Peel, Sir Robert, 127, 135
 Pepys, Samuel, 121, 160, 292
 —, Birthplace of, 294
 Penn, William, 123
 Perry, Lord Mayor, 36
 Peter the Great, 298
 Philip, Arthur, 322
 Philpot, Lord Mayor, 85
 Physicians, Royal College of, 97, 214,
 216, 217, 220
 —, Election of President of, 216
 Piave Front, The, 187
 Picard, Sir Henry, 104
 Pickwick, Mr., 299
 Pinch, Dr., School of, 300
 Pindar, Sir Paul, House of, 86
 Pinkerton, R. E., 316
 Pitt Bridge, 154

INDEX

Pitt, William, 141
 Plague, Great, 9
 Plautius, Aulus, 3
 Pleas of Land, 13
 Pope, Alexander, 287
 Pope, The, 6
 Pope's Head Alley, 277
 Portgerefæ, 13
 Port of London, Admiral of, 184
 —, Medical Officer of, 143
 Portland, Duke of, 213
 —, Duchess of, 213
 Portreve, 5, 13, 40
 Preston, Robert, 157
 Primrose, William, 211
 Prince Consort, Statue to, 132
 Prince Eugène, 171
 Prince Rupert, 160
 Pudding Lane, 9
 Purdon, Ned, 293

Q

Queen Anne, 15, 134
 —, Monument to, 133
 Queen Boadicea, 3, 123
 Queen Catherine of Aragon, 109
 Queen Elizabeth, 7, 105, 169, 284, 298
 Queen Elizabeth Memorial, 130

R

Rahere, 119, 223
 Raleigh, Sir Walter, 284, 296
 Red Cross Million, Lord Mayor's, 188
 Regent, the Prince, 6
 Restoration, The, 9
 Returning Officers, 244
 Richard I, 6, 140
 Richard II, 6, 168, 174, 251
 Richard III, 7
 Richmond, Sir W. B., 236
 Ridley, Dr., Bishop of Rochester, 197
 Ring and Brymer, 94
 Robertson, Roy, 211
 Rogers, Dr. Kenneth, 296
 Rogers, Robert, 228
 Ronald, Sir Landon, 210
 Rose and Crown, 294
 Roses, Wars of, 6

Royal African Company, 319
 Royal Commission, Report to, 211
 Royal Exchange, 132, 133, 270
 —, War Memorial, 135
 Royal Fusiliers,
 —, War Memorial, to 134
 —, Service Battalions, 178, 180
 Royal Hospitals, 192, 223
 Royal Society and Society of Antiquaries, 293
 Royal Mail Steam Packet Company, 307
 Rugby, 191

S

Saddlers' Hall, 81
 St. Bartholomew, Priory of, 254
 —, Fair of, 254
 St. Bridget, Well of, 194
 St. George's Fields, 226
 St. James, Court of, 11
 St. John, Knights of, 109
 St. Magnus the Good, 157
 St. Margaret's, Lothbury, Rector of, 213
 St. Margaret's, New Fish Street, 157
 St. Mary of Bethlehem, Hospital of, 225
 St. Mary Overy, Canons of, 224
 St. Michael's, Crooked Lane, 157
 St. Paul's Bridge, 156
 St. Paul's Cathedral, 9, 118
 St. Thomas, Brethren of, 151
 St. Thomas in Southwark,
 —, House and Hospital of, 193, 224
 St. Vedast's, Rector of, 213
 Salonika, 189
 Savage, Canon E. S., 119
 Saxe Wyndham, H., 211
 Sayer, John, 301
 Scapa Flow, 189
 Scarborough, Sir Charles, 123
 Schools: Aldenham, 191
 —, Blue Coat, 197
 —, Charterhouse, 191
 —, Christ's Hospital, 192, 197
 —, City of London, 201
 —, City of London (Girls'), 201
 —, City of London Freemen's, 201

Schools, Great Crosby, 192
 —, King Edward's, 195, 196
 —, Merchant Taylors', 191
 —, Oundle, 191
 —, St. Bartholomew's, 203
 —, St. Bride's, 203
 —, St. Paul's, 191
 —, St. Sepulchre's, 203
 —, St. Thomas of Acon, 199
 —, Tonbridge, 191
 Scriveners, Worshipful Company of,
 23
 Shakespeare, Edmond, 284
 Shakespeare, William, 284
 —, House of, 97
 Shaw, Sir Thomas, 23
 Sheriff, Laurence, 191
 Sheriff, Office of, 40
 Sheriffs, Ancient Payments of, 43
 —, Courts of, 14, 240
 —, Duties and Privileges of, 44
 —, Election of, 45
 —, Nomination of, 42
 —, Pricking of, 42
 —, Swearing in of, 47
 Shire-Mote, 12
 Shire-Reve, 13, 40
 Sidney, Sir Philip, 170
 Skinners, Worshipful Company of, 191
 Sloane, Sir Hans, 295
 Smith, Captain John, 318
 Smith, Thomas, 165
 Smith, Sir Thomas, 320, 322
 Soulsby, Sir William, 38, 230
 South Sea Company, 224
 Southwark Bridge, 154
 South-West India Dock, 145
 Spanish and Portuguese Synagogue,
 Bevis Marks, 127
 Sprat, Bishop, 205
 Spenser, Edmund, 283, 284
 Stamford Hill, 8
 Staple, Alderman Richard, 323
 Stanley, Dean, 121
 Steele, Richard, 271
 Stock Exchange, 275
 Stow, John, 121, 270
 Strachan, Dr. Douglas, 69

Stratton, Arthur, 125
 Surgeons, Royal College of, 217
 Swift, Dean, 274

T

Tallow Chandlers' Hall, 96
 Tavern, Albion, 299
 —, Apollo, 292
 —, Barley Mow, 294
 —, Bell, 311
 —, Boar's Head, 297
 —, Castle, 296
 —, Cheshire Cheese, 299
 —, Cock, 292
 —, Czar's Head, 298
 —, Devil, 292
 —, Dolly's Chop House, 296
 —, Elephant, 298
 —, George, 300
 —, George and Vulture, 299
 —, Globe, 293
 —, Hole in the Wall, The, 300
 —, King's Head, 298
 —, London, 298
 —, Masons' Arms, 298
 —, Mermaid, 296
 —, Mitre, 292
 —, Old Bell, 299
 —, Rising Sun, 311
 —, Salutation, 303
 —, Tabard, 300
 —, Tiger, 298
 —, Wine and Spirit Vault, 300
 —, Ye Old Watlinge, 298
 Temple Bar, 130, 290, 292
 Temple Church, 118
 Temple Gardens, 178
 Temple, Sir William, 206
 Thomas, Major A. H., 67, 190
 Thorndike, Sybil, 211
 Thornhill, Sir James, 73
 Thornycroft, Hamo, 133
 Tickner, Dr., 249
 Timbs, Mr., 301
 Tonnage Bill, 162
 Torrington, Admiral, 171
 Townshend, Thomas, Viscount Sid-
 ney, 23

- Train Bands, 169
 Troy Newydh, 2
 Treloar, Sir William, 34, 99
 Tubb, Carrie, 211
 Tursten, Alderman, 14
 Tyburn, 212
 —, Manor of, 212
- U
- United Westminster Schools, 202
- V
- Vintners, Worshipful Company of, Hall, 104
 Vyner, Sir Robert, 63, 131
 Vyner, Robert, 132
 Vyner, Sir Thomas, 34
- W
- Waitham, Robert, 132, 133
 Wakefield, The Rt. Hon. The Lord, 66, 87, 123, 178, 180, 181, 183, 184, 186, 196, 226, 229, 248, 295
 —, Regiment, 180
 —, Presentation Window, 323
 Walford, 163
 Walworth, Sir William, 254
 Ward-motes, 13
 Ward, Aldersgate, 81
 —, Aldgate, 82
 —, Bassishaw, 83
 —, Billingsgate, 84
 —, Bishopsgate, 86
 —, Bread Street, 88
 ——, Alderman of, 89
 —, Bridge, 89
 —, Broad Street, 89
 —, Candlewick, 90
 —, Castle Baynard, 90
 —, Cheap, 91
 —, Coleman Street, 92
 —, Cordwainer, 92
 —, Cornhill, 93
 —, Cripplegate, Within and Without, 95
 —, Dowgate, 96
 —, Farringdon, Within and Without, 96
 —, Langbourn, 99
- Ward, Lime Street, 100
 —, Portsoken, 100
 —, Queenhythe, 102
 —, Tower, 102
 —, Vintry, 104
 —, Walbrook, 105
 Warwick, Earl of, 216
 Warwick Lane, 216
 Wat Tyler, 167, 254
 Wax Chandlers', Worshipful Company of, Hall, 95
 Weavers, Worshipful Company of, 84
 Webb, E. A., 119
 Webb, Sir Aston, 119, 135
 Wellington, Duke of, 127
 —, Memorial to, 132
 Wesley, John, 128
 West India Dock Company, 141, 145
 Westminster Charity and Emmanuel Hospital, 202
 Weyland, Mark, 301
 Wheeler, William, 160
 Wheeler, Dr. R. E. M., 3
 Whitefield, Charles, 128
 Whiteley, Colonel, 309
 Whittington, Richard, 61
 —, Burial place of, 104
 Wild, Sir Ernest, K.C., 243
 Wilkes, John, 17, 132, 310
 William and Mary, 11
 William of Orange, 171, 274
 William II, 169
 William III, 10, 161, 162
 William IV, 133
 Williams, James, 317
 Williams, Roger, 317
 Williamson, Dr., 23
 Wilson, Samuel, 229
 Wolsey, Cardinal, 215, 285
 Woodward, Dr., 205, 206
 Wordsworth, William, 111
 Wren, Sir Christopher, 10, 93, 123, 205, 228, 295
- Y
- York, House of, 6
 —, Dean of, 136
 Younghusband, Sir George, 298

10
11
12

13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24

25
26
27
28

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30

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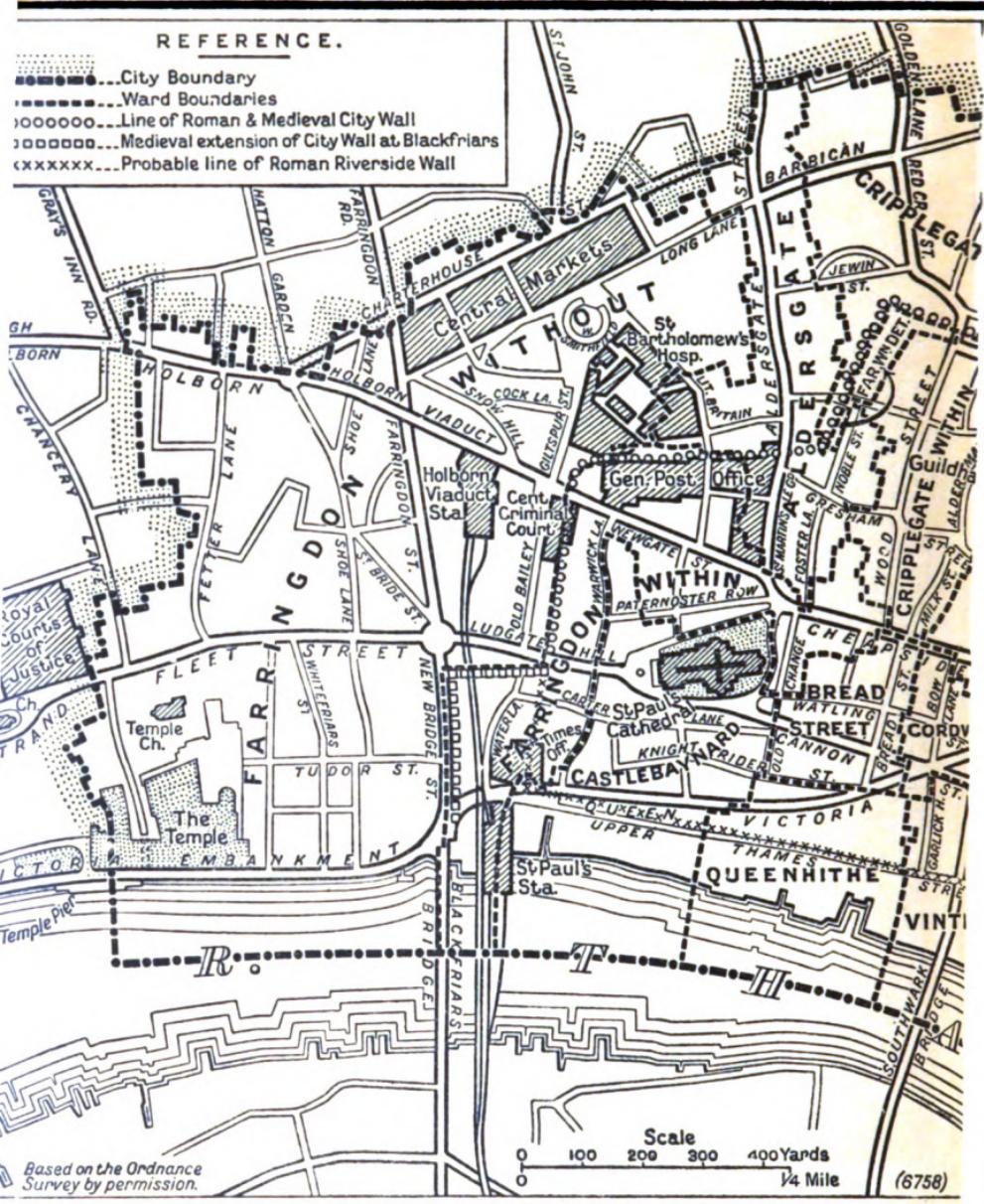
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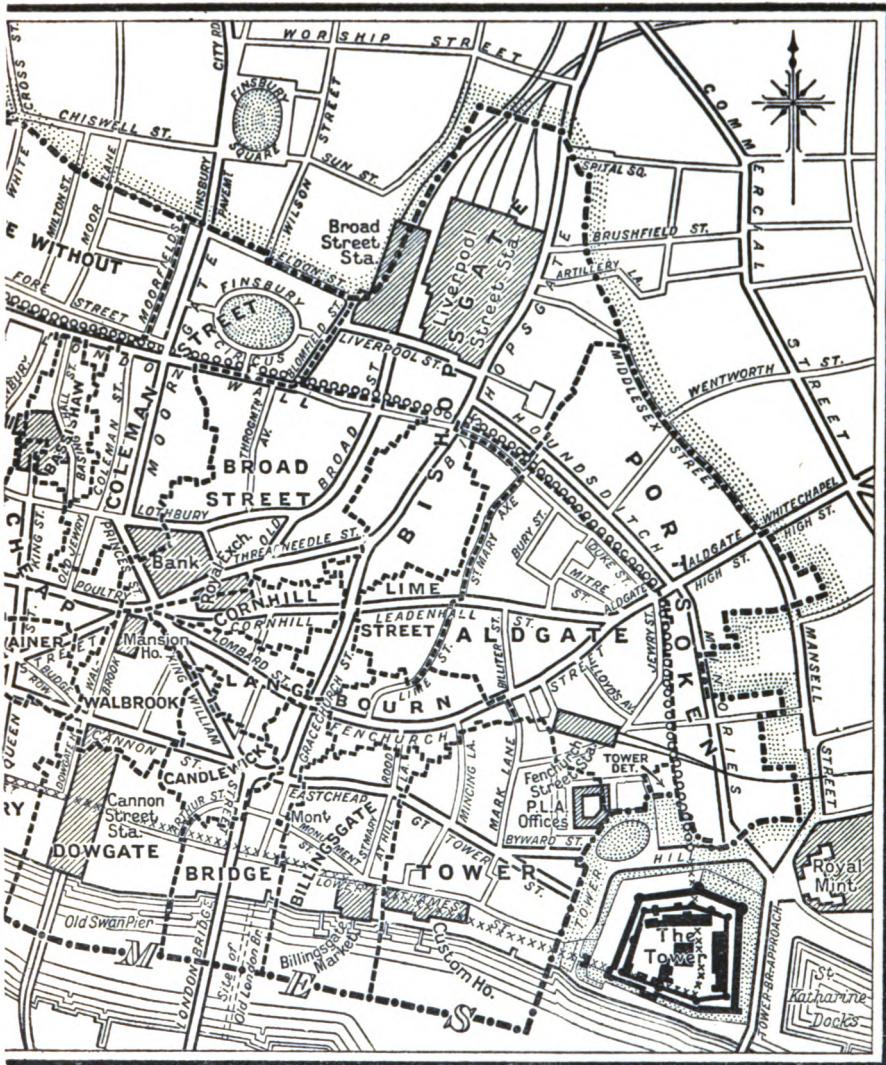
45

REFERENCE.

- City Boundary
- Ward Boundaries
- Line of Roman & Medieval City Wall
- Medieval extension of City Wall at Blackfriars
- Probable line of Roman Riverside Wall



MAP OF THE CITY SHOWING THE WARD BOUNDARIES



AND LINE OF ROMAN AND MEDIEVAL CITY WALL

[The Times]

